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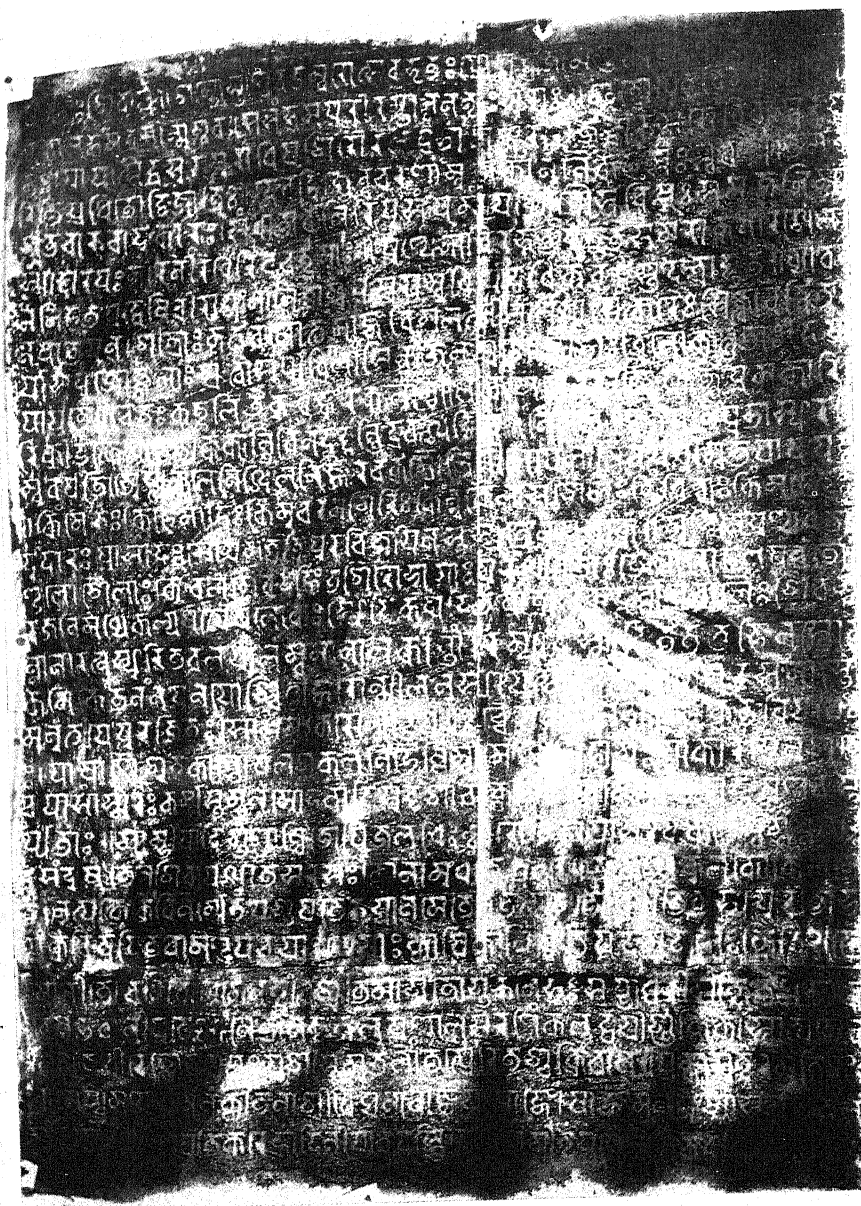
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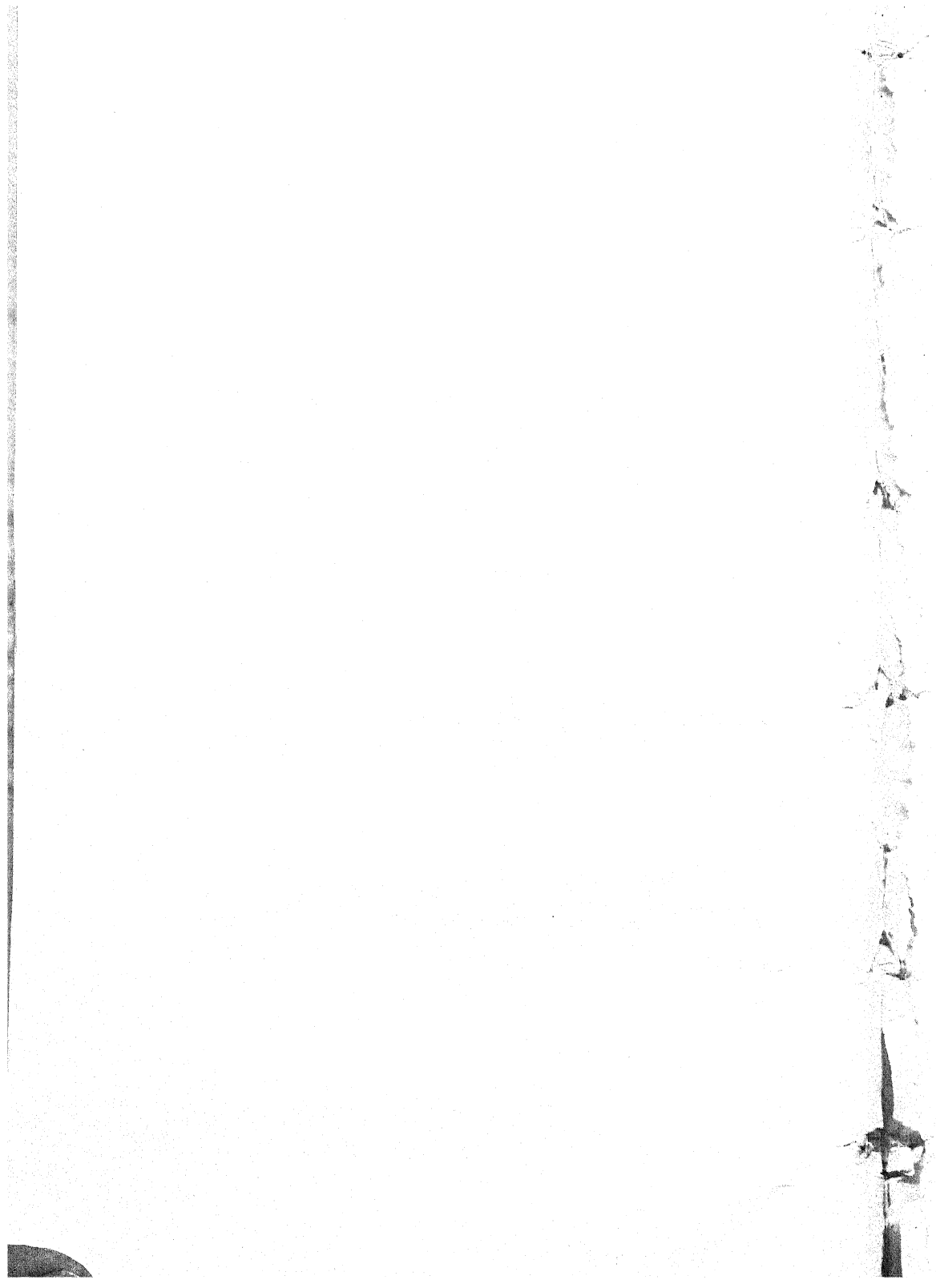


Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.





Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.



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[PART I.

Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta IV.

By Pandit Binayak Misra,

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Calcutta University.*

When I got the information of the discovery of this charter, I requested my informant Babu Girish Chandra Roy to kindly bring it to me from the Tikayat Sahib of Kanika, for decipherment. The informant kindly complied with my request and reported that in the July last, a villager of Balijhari in the Narasinghpur State, unearthed an earthen pot, the mouth of which was covered with another pot, at the depth of about 3 feet, while digging the ground for laying the foundation of a wall. The villager opened the pot and found the plates within, which he subsequently produced before the mother of the minor Chief of the Narasinghpur State.

This charter consists of 3 plates, each measuring $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. They are strung on a ring $1\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and $2''$ in diameter, which passes through the holes cut in the middle of the left end, at a distance of $\frac{3}{4}''$ from the edge of each plate. Both ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper, the top surface of which is $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. It contains, in relief, the figure of a Mahā-lakṣmī seated on a lotus and flanked on each side by an elephant with trunk uplifted. No legend is discernible.

The inscription begins on the second side of the first plate, and ends on the second side of the last plate, which contains 7 lines. When the charter came to my hand, I found the last plate cut at the hole and strung on the ring, taking the place of the second plate. It appears to me that the last plate had not been strung through oversight before the ends of the ring were secured.

The characters of the grant fully resemble those of Kāṭaka copper plate grant of the third year of Mahābhavagupta¹ and they require no special remark. But the orthography of this charter deserves a comment. The dental "S" has taken the place of cerebral and also of palatal "S"; as for example, *Śālī* (1. 1), *pīyūsa* (1. 2) and *aṁsu* (1. 10) have been written for *sālī*, *pīyūsa* and *aṁsu* respectively. In the colloquial Oriya the only dental sound of "S" is in use. The Savara dialect has been characterised by the phonetic peculiarity that the only dental sound of "S" is used in it². This charter refers also to the inhabitation of Savaras in Orissa³ and therefore the disappearance of cerebral and palatal sounds of "S" in Oriya, is not a matter of wonder.

The word *dhṛīaṭi* (1. 2) written for *dhūrjjaṭi* represents the phonetic characteristic of the Oriya language (cf. *mṛti*, *mṛchā*, and *dhṛta*, the corrupted Oriya forms of Sanskrit *mūrti*, *mūrchhā*, and *dhūrta*).

The sound of cerebral "N", which is still retained in Oriya, is often pronounced as a dental one when conjoined with another consonant. This is why the Sanskrit *punya* has been written as *punya* in line 47.

Even now the Sanskrit *tāmra* is pronounced as *tāmbra*, as written in line 47, by the uneducated middle class people of Orissa, who attempt to use Sanskrit words in the ordinary speech, discarding the provincial forms of the Sanskrit words.

The i—mark in place of ī—mark, is often noticeable in this charter. Besides, a good deal of orthographical errors, such as

¹ E.I. Vol. III, pp. 355-58.

² Nāṭya-Śāstra, by Bharatamuni, Ch. XVII, 13.

³ Second plate, first side, l. 20.

prātātha (l. 12) and *tastha* (l. 34) for *prasthitā* and *sthitā* respectively, crept into the plate.

The grant was issued from *Yayātinagara*, the place of issue of some plates of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta¹, which has been identified with different places by different scholars, the latest identification being Binkā in the Sonepur State². The description of Yayātinagara, as found in Yayāti's plate, indicates that it was the capital of the country over which the Gupta Kings of Kosala established supremacy. Bhīmaratha Mahābhvagupta II who also issued his grant, referred to before, from Yayātinagar, is said in the present charter to be the patron of architecture (l. 8). It can, therefore, be said on conjecture that he built temples in the capital. But there is no architectural remains at Binkā to bear evidence to the identification mentioned before.

The present plate discloses that after the death of *Dharmmaratha*, the *Kosala* kingdom was made over to Naghuṣa, brother of the ruler of the Eastern Country. This statement is in support of the supposition that Dharmmaratha and his predecessors permanently resided in the Kosala country which comprised the Sambalpur district. It is, therefore, evident that Yayātinagara was situated in the western Orissa. It was probably somewhere near Sonepur, the place of issue of Marañjamurā charter³, and of Kumāra Someśvaradeva's plate as well⁴.

The temples in the vicinity of Sonepur now exhibit the ancient architectural beauty, and the natural grandeur of the place, where they stand, recalls the description of Yayātinagara, as found in the plates. I, therefore, think that the Gupta Kings of Kosala made Sonepur capital of their kingdom and built there two residential buildings—one in the congested area for carrying on the official business and other in the secluded place for performing the religious duties. The Oriya word *na-a-ra*, which has been derived from the Sanskrit *nagara*, signifies a palace; consequently Yayātinagara signifies the palace built by Yayāti.

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 198-200.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

³ Above Vol. II, pp. 45-55.

⁴ E.I. Vol. XII, pp. 237-242.

The inscription begins with the description of the moon, the progenitor of the Gupta dynasty of Kosala. Then the names of JANMEJAYA, YAYĀTI, and BHĪMARATHA run successively. Bhimaratha is said to have been succeeded by his son DHARMMARATHA to the throne. Thereafter the text refers to a ruler of the eastern country, whose brother NAGHUṢA succeeded Dharmmaratha. Again it is said that the former was succeeded by his younger brother YAYĀTI. The eastern country was no other than eastern Orissa and again there was evidently a Yayāti II in the same Gupta dynasty of Kosala.

The donor of the grant was UDDYOTAKEŚARI, son of Yayāti II. The name Uddyotakeśari appears twice—once on the second side of the last plate in connection with the date and secondly on the first side of the second plate in connection with the genealogy. But in the beginning portion of the documentary text, he and his father are called Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta respectively. Neither their names nor their *Kesarī* titles appear there.

The villages *Kontalaṇḍā* and *Lovākarāḍā*, belonging to *Airāvattamaṇḍala* in the *Oḍri* country, were granted to Śāṅkara Śarmā and Balabhadra Śarmā respectively. The donees belonged to the *Gārgga Gotra* and were the students of *R̥gveda*. They were also two uterine brothers and emigrants from *Palāsa* in *Tirabhukti-maṇḍala*.

Kontalaṇḍā is said to have been situated on the bank of the *Mahānadī* and therefore I identify it with *Kaṇṭilo* in the *Khandapara* State, not far from the find-place of the charter. *Lovākarāḍā* is probably *Māraḍā*, about four miles from *Kaṇṭilo*. *Airāvatta* may be identified with *Raṭāgarh* in *Banki*, about 16 miles from *Māraḍā*. *Oḍri* is nothing but *Oḍra*, i.e., Orissa. *Tirabhukti* is probably *Tirhut* in *Behar*.

The *Mahāsandhivigrahī* (Minister for War and Peace) was *Rudra-Datta* and the scribes were *Bāheru* and *Mangāka*. The grant was issued on the 10th day of bright fortnight of the month of *Mārggaśīrṣa* in the 4th regnal year of Uddyotakeśari.

Among other inscriptions of Uddyotakeśari, hitherto pub-

lished, Brahmeśvara stone inscription of Bhuvaneśvara¹ is of much historical importance. But it is a matter of great regret that the accurate text of this inscription is not available, since the stone, containing the inscription, got broken and a good number of letters were mutilated. However, our thanks are due to them who deciphered, restored, and published the text.

The pedigree, available from the published text, differs from that given in the present charter. We get from the published reading of Brahmeśvara inscription that Janamejaya, the lord of Trilinga (Telengana) country and conqueror of Orissa, was succeeded by his son Dirgharava and the latter by his son Apavāra who died childless. Thereafter Vichitravīra, another son of Janamejaya, ascended the throne and after his death Abhimanyu, Chandihāra, and Uddyotakeśari ruled successively. Again neither the title Mahābhavagupta nor the title Mahāśivagupta occurs in the Brahmeswar inscription. But after a careful scrutiny of the facsimile-print of the said inscription, I have found some inaccuracies in the published reading. In the fourth line the restored word Yayāti may be possible, the initial letter "Ya" being distinct, but the succeeding four letters (nrpavad=yo), being totally damaged, are doubtful. In the fifth line the name Bhimaratha is distinct instead of Dirgharava. Again there will be no harm if we read *Dharmmaratho=payātaḥ* instead of *dharmmaparo=pavārah* in the sixth line where the letters are indistinct. Besides the word *tatsthānī*, which has been restored in line 7 to get the absurd meaning that Apavāra was succeeded by his grandfather Vichitravīra, can utterly be discarded. I am also at a loss to understand why the letter "tri", preceding to *Kaliṅgādhipati* in the last line, has been omitted by the reader. However, I now strongly believe that if the text discussed above be accurately restored and deciphered, the following pedigree will be obtained.

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62.

Janamejaya

Yayāti (for Dīrgharava)	Viehitravīra
Bhīmaratha (for Apavāra)	Abhimanyu
Dharmmaratha	Chandihāra
	Uddyotakeśari

The mention of Uddyotakeśari and that of Abhimanyu found in the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva¹, establish the connection between the Brahmeshwar inscription and the copper-plate inscription under discussion. Someśvaradeva meditated on the feet of Mahābhavagupta and then made mention of Uddyotakeśari. The charter under discussion, reveals that Uddyotakeśari was Mahābhavagupta. Someśvaradeva's grant was issued from Sonepur, in the vicinity of which Yayāti-nagara, the place of issue of the present plate, stood as has been shown before. It can, therefore, be held that Mahābhavagupta, whose feet were meditated upon by Someśvaradeva, was Uddyotakeśari. We learn from the Brahmeshwar inscription that Abhimanyu was the grandfather of Uddyotakeśari. I shall show later on that Abhimanyu was the ruler of Orissa, not of Kosala. In that case, the text *Śrīmad=Uddyotakeśari rāja-deva-prasādīkṛta-Kosala-rājyā=bhīṣikta Śrī Abhimanyu-devasyā=tīta-rājye*, occurring in the Sonepur plate, can be interpreted differently. In my humble opinion, it conveys the meaning that the ruler of Kosala, which was granted (to the ruler) by Uddyotakeśari, being in the country of Abhimanyu, ordered..... Someśvaradeva probably was in eastern Orissa, when the grant was issued in Kosala by his order. Consequently the interpretation that Kosala was granted to Abhimanyu by Uddyotakeśari, as given by the learned editor of the Sonepur plate, cannot be accepted as correct. However, Uddyotakeśari of Brahmeshwar inscription seems not to be different from Uddyotakeśari either of the Sonepur plate or of the present plate.

The title *Kumāra* of Someśvaradeva is extremely signi-

¹ E.I. Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.

ficant. In the royal families, the title *Kumāra* is generally assumed by the younger princes. It is not a custom in the ruling houses that the younger son of the king should use the epithet *Kumāra* even after his accession to the throne in the case of death of the eldest son (of the king), without issue. I therefore hold that *Someśvaradeva* was the younger son of *Uddyotakeśari*, whose feet were meditated upon by him. Again it may be held that *Uddyotakeśari* gave *Orissa* to his eldest son and *Kośala* to his younger son. The phrase *Abhimanyudevasyā = tāta-rājye* clearly indicates that *Abhimanyu* was not alive when the grant was made. It can now be gathered from the *Sonepur* plate that *Uddyotakeśari* was later in date than *Abhimanyu*, as disclosed by *Brahmeshwar* inscription.

The panegyrical description of *Chañḍihāra*, the father of *Uddyotakeśari* of *Brahmeswara* inscription, is fully in harmony with that of *Yayāti II*, the father of *Uddyotakeśari* of the present plate.

L. 8.....tasyo = patejāḥ sutaḥ śrī Chañḍihāra ity =
abhun = narapatiḥ sarvvair = amātyaiḥ kṛtaḥ.....
samparipālya rāṣṭra-dvayam = ubhayam niṣkaṇṭaki-
kṛtaḥ yaḥ....

L. 9.....bhuto = neka-narendra-śekhara-maṇi-prod-
gachchhad = amśu.....(u) dbhāsita pāda-padma-
yugalaḥ.

These lines may be compared with the verses (l. 22-25) relating to *Yayāti II* of the present plate. We find similarly that *Chañḍihāra* of *Brahmeshwara* inscription and *Yayāti II* of the present plate, both were elected as king by the subordinate chiefs and they ruled the joint kingdom of *Utkala* and *Kośala*, after effectively repulsing the enemies. Again we find in the *Brahmeshwara* inscription that after the death of the great grandson of *Janmejaya*, the successor came from outside the kingdom. Similar statement also occurs in the present plate. Taking all these facts into consideration, I hold that *Uddyotakeśari* of *Brahmesvara* inscription is no other than the donor of the present plate. If it be tenable, *Chañḍihāra* of *Brahmeshwar* inscription will be identical with *Yayāti II* who was preceded by two elder brothers as revealed by the present inscription.

The statement that Yayāti II was elected as king by the subordinate chiefs leads me to suppose that there occurred a dispute over the accession to the throne, which culminated probably in either expulsion or murder of rival claimants of Yayāti II (akantakam sādhayataḥ I. 24). We gather from the present plate that Yayāti II was preceded by two brothers. Abhimanyu had evidently three sons.

The Marañjamurā charter of Yayāti¹ may now be taken into consideration. The charter belongs to the 3rd regnal year of the donor. The panegyrics of Yayāti, occurring in the Marañjamurā charter, are not found in the other 5 grants issued after the 3rd regnal year of Yayāti. In this charter he is said to have conquered Rādha, Gauḍa, and Karṇāṭa. It appears in the Brahmeshwara inscription that Uddyotakeśari defeated the kings of Choḍa, Gauḍa, and Sinhala in the course of play in his childhood (vāla-kridābhir=eva). This statement leads me to suppose that Uddyotakeśari rendered assistance to his father in the war. In that case, Yayāti of Marañjamurā may be taken as the father of Uddyotakeśari. This assertion is also borne out by the statement occurring in the Marañjamurā plate that Yayāti was voluntarily elected as king of Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, and Utkala², as I have shown before that the father of Uddyotakeśari was elected as king. Besides another fact corroborates my assumption that the donor of Marañjamurā was Yayāti II, not Yayāti I. Rudra-Datta, the Mahāsandhivigrahi of Marañjamurā charter, seems to be the same Mahāsandhivigrahi Rudra-Datta of the present plate. Rudra-Datta is said in the former charter of Yayāti's 3rd regnal year to be the son of Simha-Datta's brother. Simha-Datta held the office of Mahāsandhivigrahi in the 28th year of Yayāti I's reign³ and continued in that capacity during the reign of Bhīmaratha⁴. It is therefore not possible that Simha Datta was preceded by his brother's son in the office of Mahāsandhivigrahi during the 3rd regnal year of Yayāti I. On this ground, I hold that

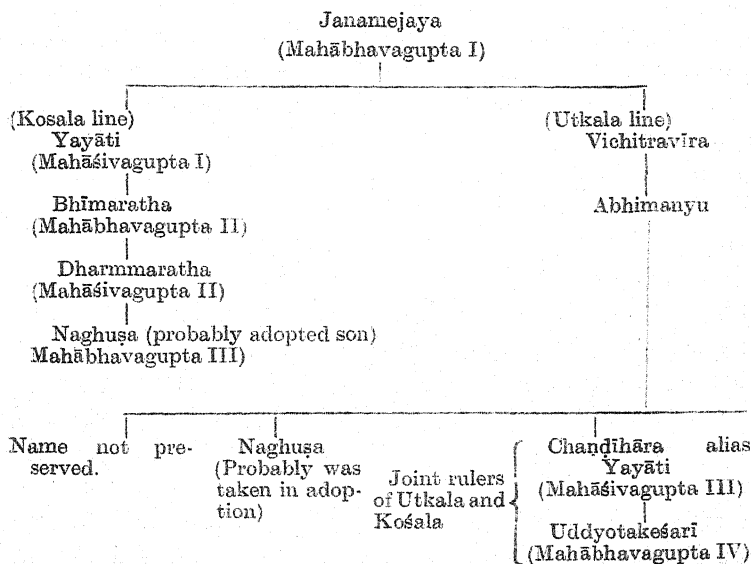
¹ Above Vol. II, pp. 45-55.

² Kaliṅga-koṅgado=tkala-kosala-svayamvara-prasiddha (I. 2).

³ J.A.S.B. 1905, pp. 19-23.

⁴ E.I. Vol. III, pp. 355-56.

Rudra Dutta of Maraṇjamurā is the same Rudra-Datta of the present plate. Now all the points discussed above lead me to identify the donor of Maraṇjamurā charter either with Yayāti II of the present plate or with Chaṇḍihara of Brahmeshwar inscription. However we can now construct the following genealogical table of Somavamśi kings of Orissa :—



As Yayāti II's successor had *keśarī* title, I hold that Yayāti II himself assumed also the same *Keśarī* title. In that case, the traditional Yayāti Keśari, who revived Brahmanism in Orissa by inviting 10,000 Brahmins from northern India to conduct the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice held at Jajpur, may be identified with Yayāti II alias Chaṇḍihāra. Again Yayāti Keśari of Mādalaṇḍī or temple chronicle of Puri, who brought back the image of lord Jagannātha to Puri from Sonapur, may be taken as the same Yayāti II, since it was possible for him while he ruled the joint kingdom of Utkala and Kośala. Besides, Yayāti Keśari who, according to tradition current in Orissa, built the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneshwar, may be supposed to be the same Yayāti II, who according to the version recorded in the Maraṇjamurā charter, was a powerful ruler and at the same time builder of temples, and who is again said

in the present plate, to have performed many good acts, the reward of which was enjoyed by his son Uddyotakeśari. It is, therefore, not difficult to ascertain now why Yayāti Keśari's name in Orissa has not been shrouded in oblivion.

Again it is stated in the present plate that Yayāti II's eldest brother used to reside at Kaṭaka in the eastern country. One grant of the 31st year, probably the last year of Janmejaya's reign, was found at Chaudwar near Cuttack.¹ Other two grants of that year of that very king, are also supposed to have been found in the vicinity of Cuttack.² All these grants were issued from the victorious Kaṭaka established in the pleasure-garden (Ārāma-samavāsita-śrīmato-vijaya-kaṭakāt). Dr. Fleet identified this Kaṭaka with Cuttack.³ But Mr. Rangalal Banerjee identified Kaṭaka with Chaudwar,⁴ the find-place of one of the grants, where according to local tradition, Janmejaya performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In all the ancient records, the present Cuttack town has been called Bārāṇasī Kaṭaka.⁵ Even now the western portion of Kaṭaka, where the Kathjori branch rises from the Mahanadi, is called Biḍānāsī, which is a corrupted form of Bārāṇasī. It now occurs to me that the prefix *Bārāṇasī* was added to Cuttack in ancient time in order to distinguish it from other Kaṭakas. In the temple chronicle of Puri, Chaudwar is mentioned as a Kaṭaka along with other four Kaṭakas. I, therefore, identify Kaṭaka of the present plate with Chaudwar, where some sculptures assigned to pre-Gaṅga period by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, are now found.⁶ The name Chaudwar is of a later origin. The people who settled at Chaudwar in a considerable later period found there a dilapidated fort having four entrance doors, each on a different side, and therefore they called the place Chaudwar, signifying four doors. It is, therefore, not improbable that in ancient time Kaṭaka was the name of Chaudwar.

¹ E.I. Vol. III, p. 345.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁴ J.A.S.B. Vol. XLVI, p. 149.

⁵ J. & P., A.S.B. Vol. XII 1916, p. 42.

⁶ Memoirs of A.S.I. No. 44.

We find in the Brahmeśvara inscription that Janamejaya, who acquired Orissa after killing the king of that country, had two sons. I, therefore, hold that he appointed his second son as Governor of Orissa, establishing a capital at Chaudwar. Again some grants of 31st year of Janamejaya's reign, the villages of which grants are identified in the Sambalpur district,¹ have been discovered at Chaudwar and in its vicinity. I, therefore, suppose that Janamejaya died at Chaudwar when the said grants were executed by his order to be issued in Kosala, but could not be done, because he died in the meantime. Moreover, it can be held that all the plates of Gupta kings were issued in Kosala after being written and incised in the western Orissa, since no script was probably in use in Kosala (western Orissa). The fact that no epigraphic record of the pre-Gupta (Kosālan Gupta) period has been discovered in the western Orissa corroborates the assumption that the scripts were not introduced there before the Gupta rule, under discussion, was established. We are, however, not far to seek why the plates of the Gupta kings, containing the village names, which are identified in the western Orissa, have been discovered in the eastern Orissa.

The title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*, held by Uddyotakeśari as well as by his predecessors, now deserves a comment for ascertaining the time of the present plate. Now there can be no doubt as to the supremacy of Gupta kings over Utkala and Kosala. We gather from the plates of Daṇḍimahādevi² of Bhauma dynasty that Koṅgada was included in Utkala in the 9th century A.C. Since then there was no need of separate conquest of Koṅgada which intervened between Utkala on the north and Kalinga on the south. This is why the records of Chodagaṅgadeva are silent about Koṅgada when they mention Chodagaṅgadeva's conquest of Orissa from Kalinga. We can, therefore, assert that Janamejaya acquired also Koṅgada along with Utkala. But there is no evidence as to the personal

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 198-200.

² See J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83, for genealogy and time, and E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42, for lordship over Koṅgada.

rule of Gupta kings over Kalinga. It will not be absurd to suppose that the rulers of Kalinga acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta kings in the 10th century A.C. when no Gaṅga ruler in Kalinga appears to be powerful. In that case, credence can be given to the statement recorded in the Maraṅjamura charter that Yayāti was elected as ruler of the Kalinga, Koṅgada, Utkala, and Kośala.

We find in the grants of Janamejaya that he had Kosalendra and Trikalīṅgādhipati titles.¹ It is therefore evident that the former title indicates his supremacy over Kośala and the latter over Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala.

After the disintegration of the vast Kalinga empire, there flourished 3 kingdoms—Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala—which were not under one sovereign power for a long period. No grant of a king earlier than Janamejaya contains the Trikalīṅgādhipati title of the donor. Janamejaya's father was not Trikalīṅgādhipati, but it was Janamejaya himself who first assumed this title after bringing the 3 Kalingas under one sovereign power. This should be borne in mind that no king could assume the Trikalīṅgādhipati title without subduing the paramount power of the united kingdom of Kalinga, Koṅgada, and Utkala. We find that Kalachuri king Gaṅgeyadeva Vijayāditya subjugated the king of Utkala in the fourth decade of the 11th century A.C. and consequently his son Karṇadeva assumed the title under discussion. I, therefore, hold that Uddyotakeśari was earlier than Vijayāditya. In that case, Uddyotakeśari may be assigned to the beginning of the 11th century A.C.

The title Mahāsivagupta of Bālārjuna led the scholars to connect the Gupta family of Orissa with that of Sirpur. Tivaradeva, the elder brother of Bālārjuna's grandfather, was requested by one Mādhava of Śailodbhava family for help to regain the kingdom of Koṅgada which he (Mādhava) acquired by force and subsequently lost. Tivaradeva, having complied with the request, waged war against the king of Koṅgada, but was defeated at Fāsika² (modern Fāsi in Ganjam). Thereupon

¹ E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 139-46.

² E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 265-70.

Mādhava did not return to Koṅgada to take quarter, but became old at the foot of Vindhya or in the kingdom of Tivara-deva¹. It can be held now that Mādhava's presence at Sirpur did not obliterate the aforesaid disgraceful event from the memory of Tivaradeva's successors. When Bālārjuna, the grandson of Tivaradeva's younger brother, became powerful, he probably took vengeance upon Śailodbhava family of Koṅgada. It is found in the Sirpur stone-inscription² that Bālārjuna conquered the earth by the help of his younger brother Raṇakeśarī. The fragmentary stone-inscription at Govindapur in the Nayagarh State, which most probably formed a part of Koṅgada, contains the name Raṇakeśarī³. I am now tempted to identify this Raṇakeśarī with Bālārjuna's brother. Raṇakeśarī very likely took Śivagupta title when his elder brother became Mahāśivagupta. If it be tenable, Janamejaya may be supposed to be the son of Raṇakeśarī who probably acquired Koṅgada.

The aforesaid fragmentary stone-inscription contains the year 811 of an unspecified era. There is no alternative but to take it as Śaka era. In that case, the year corresponds to 889 A.C.

I have stated before that 31st year was the last year of Janamejaya's reign. I, now, hold that Yayāti I died in his 28th regnal year⁴. We get 13th year of Bhīmaratha's reign in the Kudopali plate⁵. If these years be taken as Orissan Aṅka year, we shall find that Janamejaya reigned for 26 years, since 1 and all the figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted in the system of Aṅka year⁶. Similarly Yayāti I and Bhīmaratha may be supposed to have ruled 24 and 10 years respectively. Dharmmaratha and Naghuṣa probably could not rule long. If we now make an allowance of 10 years in this way or that way,

¹ Vindhya-pādeṣu jirṇṇaḥ.

² E.I. Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.

³ J.B. and O.R.S. Vol. XIII, pp. 186-7.

⁴ J.A.S.B. 1905, p. 105.

⁵ E.I. Vol. IV, p. 254.

⁶ Gaṅga kings used either Śaka era or their own Gaṅga era in Kalinga. But after the conquest of Orissa in the 11th century A.C. they began to use Aṅka year. I, therefore, assert that Aṅka year was introduced in Orissa by the Gupta kings.

it will be found that the length of the total reign of these kings was not more than 70 years. If Janamejaya be placed in the last decade of the 9th century A.C. the commencement of Yayāti II's reign falls between 960-70 A.C.

We learn that Tailapa Āhavamalla of the western Chālukya family wrested the fortune from the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, having vanquished the armies of Choḍa, Andhra, Pāṇḍya, and Utkala¹. It now appears that the king of Utkala was an ally of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king. Had it been so, the king of Utkala must have helped the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king in defeating the Chālukya king. Again we learn that the Pāla kings in Bengal were weak in the 10th century A.C.². Moreover we find in the history of Rajahmundry that a bitter dispute took place in the eastern Chālukya family over the accession to the throne of Veṅgi in the 10th century A.C., in which the king of Kalinga played a part³. I have been tempted by these political conditions to give credence to the statement occurring in the Maraṇjamurā charter that Yayāti II conquered Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjjara Gauḍa, Rāḍha, and Drāviḍa.

Tailapa Āhavamalla defeated the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king and restored his kingdom before 973 A.C.⁴. Apparently his own defeat by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king must have been earlier. However Yayāti II's succession to the throne cannot be later than 973 A.C. In that case, Uddyotakeśari can be assigned to the beginning of the 11th century A.C. at the latest. This assertion is also borne out by the fact that Karṇakeśari, most probably a descendant of Uddyotakeśari, was defeated by Rāmapāla in the 2nd half of the 11th century A.C.⁵.

I edit the text from the original.

¹ E.I. Vol. IV, pp. 204-205.

² The Pālas of Bengal by Late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, p. 69.

³ J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 160-69.

⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, p. 187.

⁵ See memoirs of J.A.S.B. 1910 Vol. III, for Karṇakeśari's defeat and J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV, p. 538, for Rāmapāla's date.

Text

First plate (Reverse).

- L. 1.....Om ¹jotsnāsāli ²-samud=vibhuḥ kumudini-hā-sauk-sampā-
- L. 2.....danā-dhūrto dhrjati ³-mauli-saudha-va(sa)tiḥ
piyūsa ⁴-dhārā-grhaṁ (|) tārā=nta(h) pu-
- L. 3.....ra-nāyako ratipateḥ śastre kṛśāno palah ⁵ kṣīrodā=
rṇava-
- L. 4.....nandano vijayate devaḥ sudhādhitih || ⁶asyā=
nvaye mahati sāndra-tamah-
- L. 5.....kalaṅka-vichchhāya-digvalaya-mārjjanakṛch=
chakrasya ⁷ (|) utpedire sakala sad=guṇa-
- L. 6.....janma-kandāḥ kundā=vadāta-yaśaso jagatām bhu-
jas=te || ⁸rājā=bhūj=Janamejayo=
- L. 7.....tha nṛpatir=jāto Yayātiḥ tataḥ Śrīmān=Bhimara-
tho=bhavat=tadanucha
- L. 8.....kṣmā-chakra-rakṣāmaṇiḥ (||) aṣṭāṣv=eva digan-
tareṣu vijaya-stambhāvali-chchha-
- L. 9.....dmanā hr (chchha) lyāni diśābhu (jā) mapi samā-
rotpair ⁹=vviṣphuṭam (|) tasmād=Dharm-
ma-
- L. 10.....ratho manorathaphala (h) śītāṃsu ¹⁰-vaṃśa-śriyo
nistriṃs=aika-śakhā ¹¹-śikhā-
- L. 11.....maṇi=rabhūsa ¹² niḥśeṣa-bhūmibhujāḥ ¹³ (||) yas-
min dig=vijyā=vatāriṇa ¹⁴ pu (rā)
- L. 12.....vidveṣi-bhūmibhujāḥ prātāthantya ¹⁵ digantaram
tadanucha sphitāś=chamū-reṇavaḥ || se-
- L. 13.....tupānta ¹⁶-vanāntare himavataḥ payanta ¹⁷ bhūsi-
mani prāga=mbhodhitatā=vaṇiṣu kaṭa=

¹ Śārddula-vikrīdita metre.² Read śāli.³ Read dhūrjati.⁴ Read piyūsa.⁵ Read phalah.⁶ Vasanta-tilaka metre.⁷ Read kṛt=karasya for the correctness of the metre.⁸ Śārddula-vikrīdita metre.⁹ Read samāropya=ntapaiḥ.¹⁰ Read śītāṃsu.¹¹ Read sakha.¹² Read rabhūn=niḥśeṣa.¹³ Read bhujāḥ.¹⁴ Read avatāraṇa.¹⁵ Read prasthitā=ntya.¹⁶ Read prānta.¹⁷ Read paryanta.

- L. 14.....ke pūrvve=tara kṣmābhṛtaḥ (|) yasyo=tkam
pada=rāti-rāja-yuvatī niḥśvāsa-jhañjhā=nilaiḥ
L. 15.....vyāsaṅga-svanada=ntarāla-mukharair=ggītaṁ ya-
śaḥ kichakaiḥ ¹ || bhrātā tasya babhūva
L. 16.....bhūtala-patiḥ (bhūte) śa tulya prabhah prakhyātah
kṣiti-bhūṣaṇa (h) Naghuṣa ityu=rvvi-pa-
L. 17.....ti (nām pati)h | yaddor=ddaṇḍa-bhujāṅgamena
vilasan=nistrimśa-jihvābhṛtā=pitā=sau

Second plate (Obverse)

- L. 18.....paripanthi-pārthiva-chamū-kañṭhā=ntari ² māru-
tāḥ || atrā=ste karivṛndamu=nmadam=
L. 19.....iha prauḍho=sti pañchānanah santye=tāṣu jagad
=grho-giri-darī-kumbhīṣu ku-
L. 20.....mbhinaśaḥ | snehādi=tya=bhidhāya vṛddha-
śavari-varggeṇa vaddhā=śrūṇā yad=vai (ri)-
L. 21.....pramada-jano vanabhubah sañchārana=dhyapitah
|| ³ tasyā=nujo nata-samasta-sa-
L. 22.....patna-mauli-ratnāṁsu ⁴ mālita-(su) pāda-saroja-
rochih vidyānidhiḥ pratinidhir=ma
L. 23.....dhusūdanasya jāto=tha viśvavijayī nṛpatir=
Yayātiḥ ⁵ || bhātair=avaṣṭabdhām=
L. 24.....idaṁ narendraiḥ rāṭa ⁶ dvayaṁ Koṣalam=Ut-
kalañcha | akañṭakam sādhayataḥ sa (h)
L. 25.....samantād=bhujadvaya yasya kṛtārthamā=sīt ||
tasmāt (ta) taḥ sukrta-
L. 26.....phala-saphalīkṛta-loka-lochanas=tanayaḥ samajani
gunaikasīmā
L. 27.....Śrīmān=Uddyotakesari nṛpatiḥ || bhakti-dūra-
nata-kuntala-skhalana-mallika-
L. 28.....kusuma-rājayaḥ | dhaukanta iva kīrtti santati ⁷
ya (h) pranitya ⁸=arahito mahibhujah (||)
L. 29.....Svasti Śrī Yayātinagarāt | paramamāheśvara pa
(ra) ma bhāṭṭāraka mahārājādhi-

¹ Read kichakaiḥ.

² Read ntari.

³ Vasanta-tilak metre.

⁴ Read aṁsu.

⁵ Read Yayātiḥ

⁶ Read Rāṣṭra.

⁷ Read Santati.

⁸ Read pranitya.

- L. 30.....rāja paramēśvara somakulatilaka trikalīṅgādhipati
śrī mahāśivagu-
- L. 31.....pta rājadeva pādānudhyāta (h) | paramamāheśvara
parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahā-
- L. 32.....rājādhirāja paramēśvara somakulatilaka trikalīṅgā-
dhipati śrī mahā-
- L. 33.....bhavagupta rājadevaḥ kuśali | Oḍri deśiya Airā-
vaṭṭa maṇḍala saṁsa-
- L. 34.....rāva khaṇḍiya kontalaṇḍā grāma tasmin tasta¹
kheṇḍiya brāhma-

Second plate (Reverse)

- L. 35.....nānā=pūjya samāhatṛ sannidhātṛ niyuktādhikari
dāṇḍapāsika piśu-
- L. 36.....na vetrikā=avarodhajana rājñī rāpaka rājaputtra |
rājavallabha | bhogijana-pra-
- L. 37.....mukha janapadān | samājñāpayati viditamastu
bhavatām | yathā=smābhira=yam
- L. 38.....grāmaḥ sagarttoṣira Mahānadi-arddha śrotaḥ²
sameta chatu (h) sīmāvachchhi-
- L. 39.....nnaḥ sīsu madhūka tāla prabhṛti nānā vṛkṣa
sanidhiḥ sopanidhiḥ hastidaṇḍa va-
- L. 40.....ravalāvanda | choṭāla | andhāruvā | pratyandhā-
ruvā | adattā | padātijīva |
- L. 41.....ahidaṇḍa | antarābaḍḍi | vandhadaṇḍa | vijaya-
vandāpanā | mārggaṇika prabhṛti
- L. 42.....bhaviṣyatkara sahitaḥ sapratihāraḥ sarvva (vā)
dhā (va) jitaḥ³ sarvvoparikarā=dāna sa-
- L. 43.....hitaḥ Tirabhukti maṇḍeliya Palāsa grāma vinirgga-
tāya | Gārgga go-
- L. 44.....trāya | tryarṣaya⁴ pravarāya | Rgvedā=dhyā-
yine | bhaṭṭaputra Chateśvara pau-
- L. 45.....trāya | bhaṭṭaputra Bāmana putrāya | bhaṭṭa-
putra Śrī Śaṅkara śarmma
- L. 46.....ṇe | salila dhārā-puraḥsara ācandrārka kṣiti-sama-
kālo=pabhogārtham

¹ Read sthita.² Read srotaḥ.³ Read varjjita.⁴ Read tryārṣāya.

- L. 47.....mātā-pitrorā=tmanas=cha punyāya¹ siddhivrd-
dhaye tāmva² śāsanenā=karikṛtya
L. 48.....sampradattaḥ Airāvattamaṇḍala saṁsarāva kha-
ḍiya Lovākaraḍā grāmas=cha
L. 49.....tasya sodara bhrātr Śrī Balabhadra sarmmaṇe
evaṁ sampradattaḥ | ityavaga-
L. 50.....tya samuchita karabhoga bhāgādikam=upanaya-
bhir=bhavadbhiḥ sukhena prativasta-
L. 51.....vya sadettir=iyam=asmadiya-dharmmagaura-
vād=asma(da)=nurodhād=vā svadattair=iva-
L. 52.....nupālaniyā || tathāchoktaṁ dharmmasāstre bahu-
bhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi (h)

Third plate (Obverse)

- L. 53.....sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
tasya tadā phalaṁ | mābhūda=pha-
L. 54.....la-śankāvaḥ³ | svadattāt = phalaṁ = nantyaṁ
paradattā=nupālāne || śaṣṭivarṣa sahasrā-
L. 55.....ṇi svargge modati bhūmidāḥ | ākṣiptā chānuman
tācha dvau tau naraka-gāminau ||
L. 56.....agnerapatyaṁ prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=vai-
ṣṇavi sūryya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ | ya (h) kāñcha-
nam
L. 57.....gāñcha mahiñcha dadyād=dharttā trayas=tena
bhavanti lokāḥ āsphoṭayanti pi-
L. 58.....taro valgayanti pitāmahāḥ || bhūmidātā kule jātaḥ
sa nas=trātā bhaviṣyati |⁴
L. 59.....bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaścha bhūmiṁ prayach-
chhati | ubhau tau punya⁵ -karmṇāṇau niya-
L. 60.....taṁ svarggagāminau || tadāgānām sahasreṇa vāja-
peya śatānicha | gavām
L. 61.....koti pradānena bhūmiharttā naśudhyati || svadat-
tām paradattām=vā yo
L. 62.....hared=vasundharām sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir=bhūtvā
pitṛbhiḥ sahapachyate ||

¹ Read punyāya.

² Read tāmra.

³ Another line is omitted.

⁴ Read bhaviṣyati.

⁵ Read punya.

- L. 63.....gāmekāṁ suvarṇṇamekāṁ bhūmerapyarddhaman-
gulaṁ haran = narakamāyāti yāvadāhṛta-
- L. 64.....sambhāvaḥ || harati hārayedvasu manda vuddhis-
tamovṛtaḥ | sa vaddho dāruṇaiḥ
- L. 65.....pāsaistīryyagyonim sa gachchati || sāmānyoyam
dharmma śetu nṛpāṇām kāle kā-
- L. 66.....le pālaniya bhavadbhiḥ || sarvvānetānbhāvīnaḥ
pārthivendrān || bhūyo bhūyo yā-
- L. 67.....chate Rāmabhadraḥ || iti kamala-dalām vuvu-vīndu-
lolaṁ śriyamanucintya manuṣya jī-
- L. 68.....vitañcha sakalamidamudāhṛtañcha vudhvā nahi¹
puruṣaiḥ parakīrttayo vilopyā ||
- L. 69.....yatkiṛtti bhuvana-trayasya kuhare saśvattani par-
ṇṇayan = mantriṇaḥ (su)-chira praṇāma-
- L. 70.....rahitāḥ kṣaunṛbhujo bhogīnaḥ yaddorddaṇḍa-bha-
va-pratāpa śikṣino² nistriṁśa-

Third plate (Reverse)

- L. 71.....dhūma-chchhaṭā dūrasthopi ◡ - ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ ---
manaṣyāmahan³ || U-
- L. 72.....tkle Kośale deśe sa mahāsandhivigrahi | aśvāṅgaṇa-
gaṇādhāro Rudra-
- L. 73.....Datta iti śrutaḥ || Mahākṣapatalādhyakṣa Śrīmad =
dakṣaḥ Śatāmataḥ | aṇa-
- L. 74.....likhavid-tām vṛa⁴ -śāsana śatru-sasanah⁵ || Mahā-
rājādhirāja para-
- L. 75.....meśvara Śrīmad = Uddyotakeśari rājadevasya
pravarddhamāna vijaya
- L. 76.....rāje chaturthe samvare⁶ Mārgga = vadi daśamyām |
yatrāṅke samvatat |
- L. 77.....Mārgga vadi 10 suvarṇṇavithivijñāni Bāheru- Maṇ-
gākābhyām utki (rṇṇa) =
- L. 78.....midam ||

¹ Read nahi.² Read śikhino.³ Read manaṣyāmyahan.⁴ Read tāmra.⁵ Read śāsanaḥ.⁶ Read samvatsare.

Translation

1s. 1-4....The joyful luminous and nectar-rayed lord (moon)
—who is skilful in causing the lilies to laugh—
who rests on the mansion of the head of Dhūr-
jjati—who is the store of nectar-streams—who is
the lord of the stars in the inner apartments—
who serves as point of arrow of the good archer
love-god and who is the son of milk-ocean—
triumphs ever.

1s. 4-6....In this illustrious dynasty of the moon, whose
lustre dispels the spots of intense darkness cover-
ing the horizon, were born the enjoyers of the
earth, who, like bulb sent forth all the good
qualities, and whose fame was as white as Kūnda
flower.

1s. 6-9....Janamejaya became king and then his son king
Yayāti was followed by Bhīmaratha, the orna-
ment of the protectors of the earth. He
(Bhīmaratha), through his frontier guards, built
the pillars of victory on all sides beyond his king-
dom, which served as glittering weapons piercing
the heart of the possessors of the regions.

1s. 9-12..Dharmmaratha, the son of the glory of the lunar
dynasty, the achiever of the desired object and
the only friend of the sword, became the head-
jewel of all the kings, when the hostile kings
retreated to the extremity of the far-off country,
being chased by his soldiers marching on Dig-
vijaya, in the course of which the dusts swelled.

1s. 12-15..There was a king, other than mentioned before, at
Kāṭaka in the countries, lying on the coast of
eastern sea, extending from the Himalayas up to
the forest adjoining the Setuvandha. His fame
was chanted by the hollow bamboos, standing
adjacent to (the palace of hostile kings), when
they sounded, being struck with the high wind,
exhaled in sigh by the trembling women of the
enemies.

Ls. 15-16..His brother Naghuṣa, the over-lord of the country and the celebrated ornament of the earth, was as mighty as the lord of animate beings.

Ls. 16-18..His (Naghuṣa's) rod-like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when it took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain).

Ls. 18-21..The old Śavara women, having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest, took pity on the females of his (Naghuṣa's) enemy and told them that there are many ruttish elephants and there is also a strong lion having irresistible access all over the world and again there are huge snakes in the holes in the caves of the hills.

Ls. 21-25..His (Naghuṣa's) younger brother Yayāti, the conqueror of the world, the representative of Madhusūdāna and the ocean of learning, was elected as king of the two countries—Kosala and Utkala—by the warrior chiefs. He (Yayāti) effectively repulsed the enemies. His lotus-like feet were radiant with the wreath of the rays of head-jewels of all the prostrate enemies and his hands accomplished well his purpose on all sides.

Ls. 25-28..Then his son king Śrīmān Uddyotakeśari enjoys the rewards of good acts (of his father), brightens the world and possesses immense good qualities. He is never destitute of the leadership and his fame resembles the Malli flowers dropped down from the hairs of the kings, who bow down in reverence from a long distance when offering the presents.

Ls. 29-33..Hail from Yayātinagara. Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Somakulatilaka and Trikalīṅgādhipati, Sri Mahābhavagupta—meditating on the feet of Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhi-

râja, Paramesvara, Somakulatilaka and Tri-
kalingādhipati Śrī Mahāśivagupta—being in
good health and having worshipped the Brah-
mans of Khenḍiya—intimates and orders :—

Is. 33-37..Samahatṛ (Collector of Revenue), Sannidhātṛ
(treasury-officer), Niyuktādhikārī (officer in
charge of the appointment department), Dāṇḍa-
pāśika (village chowkidar, now called Danduāsi),
Piśūna Betrikā (cruel cane-holder, i.e., constable),
Avarodha-jana (females residing in the harem),
Rajñī (queen), Rāṇaka (trival chief), Rājaputra
(younger son of the king), Rājavallabha (favour-
ite of the king), Bhogijana (village headman)
and Janapadān (rural people), etc.

Is. 37-48..Be it known to you that the village Kontalaṇḍā
a part of Airāvattamaṇḍala including half
the bed of the Mahānadi, with its boundaries
and Garttoṣira (silted up tank and barren
land)—with various trees, such as Sisu, Madhūka
and Tāla—with mines and minerals—with
Hastidaṇḍa (the right of killing elephant),
Baravalāvanda, Chotāla, Andhāruvā, Pratyan-
dhāruvā, Adattā (rent-free land), Padātijiva
(the holding of the soldiers), Ahidaṇḍa (the
right of killing snake), Antarāvādḍi, Bandha-
daṇḍa (power of conviction and punishment),
Bijayavandāpanā (right of receiving present of
welcome), Marggaṇika (tax on ceremonial occa-
sion of the king)—with all future taxes and
cesses with the rights of collecting all other
additional taxes and with the right of confiscat-
ing the land—being exempted from encroach-
ment—has been granted by the means of copper
plate deed to Śaṅkara Sarmmā, son of Bāmana
and grandson of Chateśvara, an immigrant
from Palāsa in Tirabhuktimaṇḍala and a student
of Rgveda, belonging to Gārgga Gotra and to
Pravara of the three sages—to enjoy as long as

the moon, sun and earth exist—for the increase of merit of self and the parents.

Ls. 48-49..Again the village Lovākaraḍā in Khaṇḍiya in Airāvattamaṇḍala has been granted to his uterine brother Balabhadra Śarmma.

Ls. 49-51..Being aware of this, you should live with happiness, paying the rents and other shares due to them.

Ls. 51-52..This grant of mine should be preserved as their own gift, by the future kings from a regard for religious laws and my own request.

Ls. 52-55..It has been written in the scriptures. Lands have been granted by many, such as the king Sagara and others; the rewards of these grants belong to whosoever at any time possesses the earth. Oh kings! Have no doubt. The maintenance of another's gift has a far greater reward than one's own gift. The grantor of the lands enjoys happiness in the heaven for 60,000 years while both the confiscator and the person who acquiesces in so doing go to hell.

Ls. 56-57..Gold is the first offspring of fire, the earth is the daughter of Viṣṇu and the cows are born of sun. He, who gives gold, cows, and land, by him and by that act, possesses the three worlds.

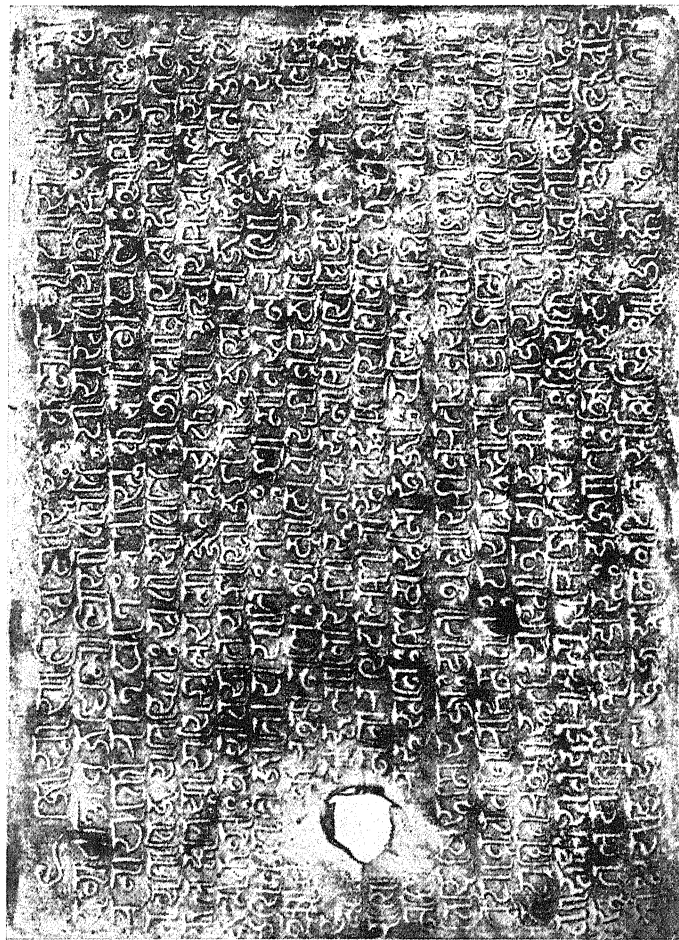
Ls. 57-58..Forefathers clap their hands and leap from joy saying "A giver of land has been born in our family and he shall become our deliverer".

Ls. 59-60..Both the giver and receiver of the land are doers of the meritorious works and will certainly go to heaven.

Ls. 60-61..A confiscator of the land is not purified even by the excavation of a thousand tank, by the performance of a hundred Vājapeya sacrifices and by the gift of a crore of cows.

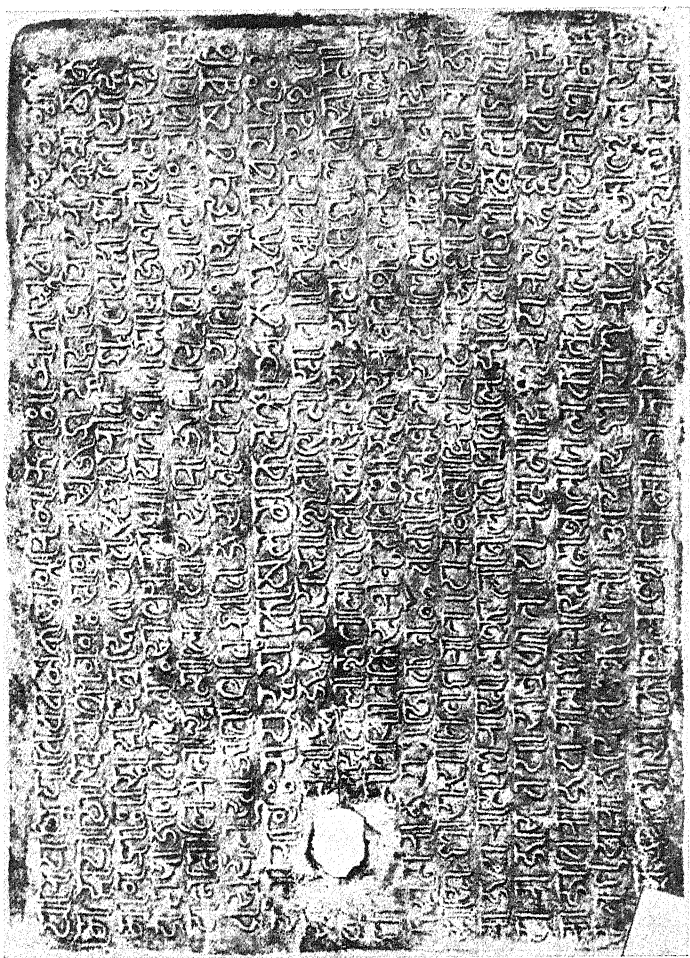
Ls. 61-62..He, who confiscates the land granted by either himself or by other, becomes a worm in ordure and rot with his forefathers.

- Ls. 63-64..He, who steals a piece of gold or a cow or even a half-a-finger's breadth of land, is consigned to hell, losing every possibility (of delivery).
- Ls. 64-65..The ignorant fool, who confiscates or causes confiscation of land, being tightly bound in the fetters of Varuṇa, is reborn of lower animals.
- Ls. 65-67..It has been requested by Rāmabhadra that this bridge of religion is common to all men and therefore it is to be preserved by all future kings.
- Ls. 67-68..No one should confiscate the land granted by other than self fully understanding the above mentioned verses and remembering that the life and the health of the man are unsteady like the drop of water on the petal of lotus.
- Ls. 69-71..I, whose good acts shine ever in the three worlds, being at a great distance from the sword resembling the smoke and the glowing heat arising out of prowess of the rod-like hands of the luxurious kings, who never get salutes from the ministers, make obeisance to.....
- Ls. 72-73..The minister for war and peace in the Utkala and Kōśala countries is Rudra Datta by name, who is Asvāṅgaṇagaṇādhara (?).
- Ls. 73-74..The able Mahākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa is Śatāmata, who knows to inscribe the copper plate grant and controls the enemies.
- Ls. 74-78..In the fourth year of the victorious reign of sovereign lord Śrīman Uddyotakeśari. On the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārggaśīrṣa. That is the year which is in the figure. The 10th day of dark fortnight of the month of Mārggaśīrṣa. This is incised by both Bāheru and Maṅgāka, the goldsmiths.



Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

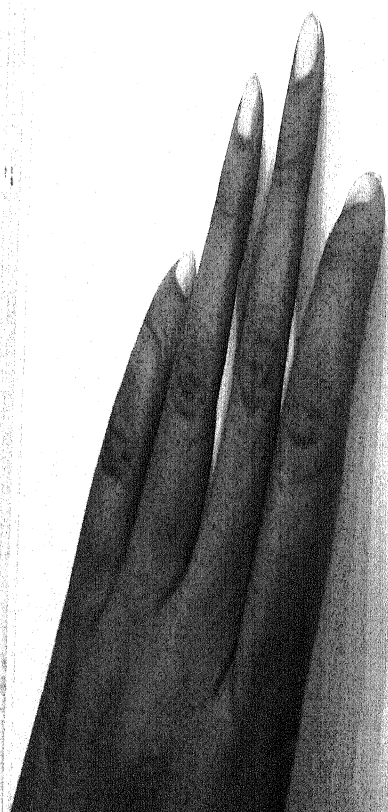
First plate (Reverse).

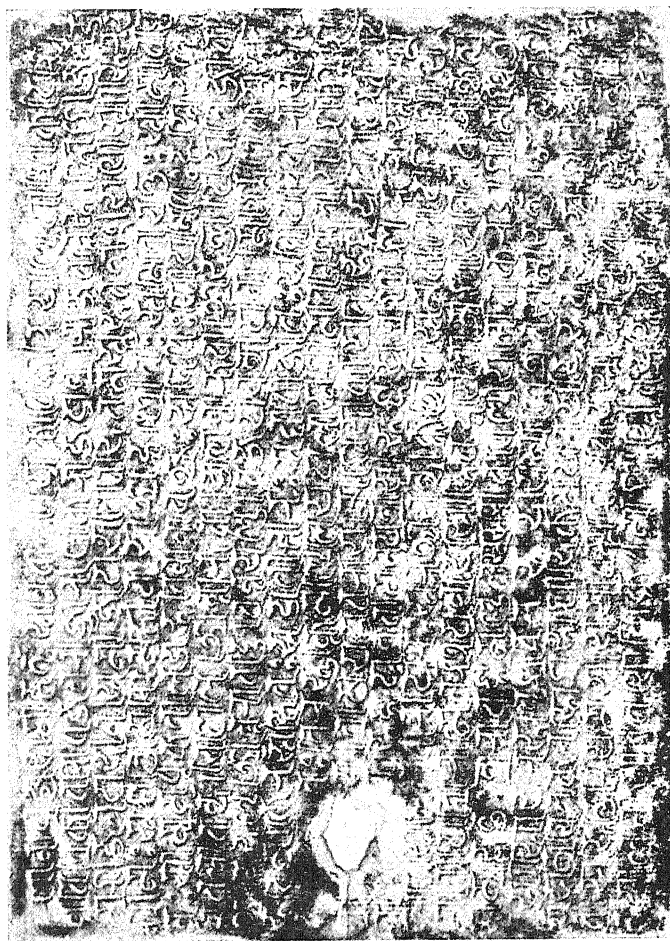


Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari = Mahābhavagupta IV.

Second plate (Obverse).

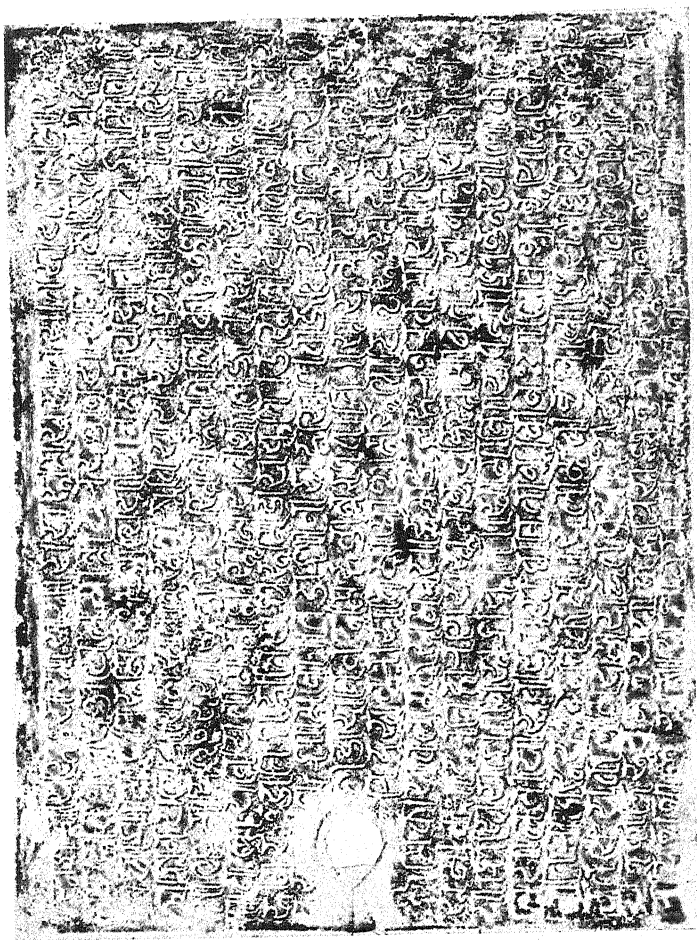
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Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

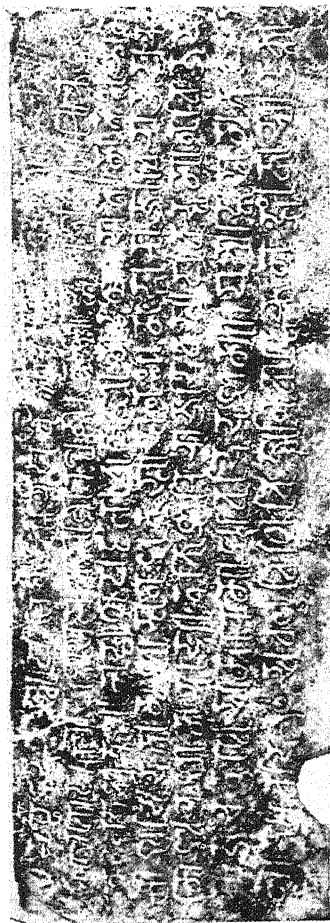
Second plate (Reverse).



Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari-Mahābhavagupta IV.

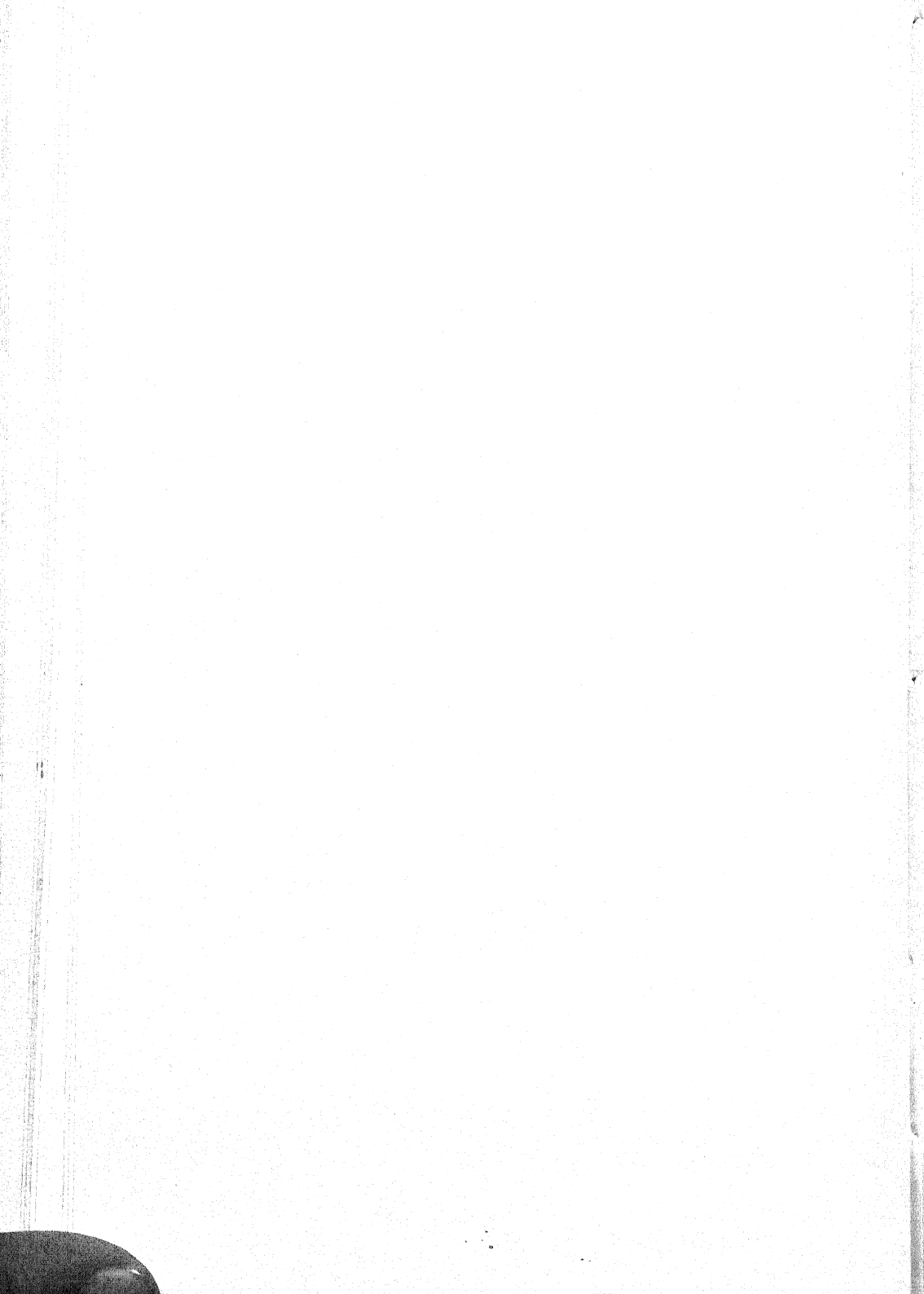
Third plate (Obverse).





Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakesari—Mahābhavagupta IV.

Third plate (Reverse).



III.—Were Ragamalās Painted By The Artists Of ‘Kāngrā’?

By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his review of Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* which appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. 47, 1927, pp. 275-278) expresses a doubt on the identification of Plate 60 (Kṛṣṇa dancing, identified as Rāgiṇī Vasanta) and seems to believe that the “Kāngrā painters never painted *Rāgamālās*”. He says that “only one isolated Pahārī sketch illustrating a rāgiṇī is known—apart from Jammu”. A somewhat similar statement he has made in his *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, part V, p. 43. Mr. Mehta in his article entitled “Notes on Hindu Painting” which has appeared in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference* (Vol. II, p. 1063) seems to have followed suit by saying that “in the Courts of Kangra, Garhwal, Jammu, and other hill States in the Punjab where Hindi literature and Hindu culture were patronised, Raga and Ragini pictures never appear to have been in vogue.” Facts, however, would show that the case is different and that the statement of the learned connoisseur requires modification.

In the first place the nomenclature ‘Kāngrā School’ or ‘Pahārī School’ does not appear to be correct. For, what is ‘Kāngrā’? It is the name of a town, and a district in the Panjāb. The term ‘Kāngrā School’, therefore, should be applied only to paintings which were made by the Kāngrā painters or their pupils. But it is being applied to the paintings from Garhwal also when there is no reason to suppose that the Garhwal painters followed, as a rule, the *ustāds* of Kāngrā. The name ‘Pahārī School’ is, on the very face of it, fallacious, for, ‘Pahārī’ means ‘belonging to hills’ and can therefore be applied not only to the paintings wrought by the painters of the Kāngrā valley but also to the work of the painters of any other hilly portion of India. The question

of nomenclature is, however, one which requires separate study and I need not take it up here.

I have got an old sketch which represents the Kānaḍā-Rāga. It was purchased from a descendant of an *ustād* or master-painter of Kāṅgrā itself. That it is the work of the so-called 'Kāṅgrā School' goes without saying. For the information of scholars interested in the subject, I am reproducing it here. This will militate against Dr. Coomaraswamy's view, for it definitely shows that the Kāṅgrā painters must have painted *Rāgamālās*. It was evidently drawn by the master-painter or *ustād* for the guidance of his pupils. His instructions are clearly written on it and were meant to be followed when paintings had to be made from the sketch. Otherwise, they would not have been given at all. According to these instructions, the dress of the riding figures of the Rāga should be chintz-coloured and that of the seated figure of it, purple in colour, the faces of all being shown as white. Further, they require that the seated figure be decorated with a necklace of pearls. In the sketch, the Rāga represented, namely, 'Kānaḍā', is called the son of 'Mēgha' (*putra-Mēghēda (ā)*). Mēgha,¹ we know, is one of the six principal Rāgas of Northern India. It may be observed here that in Southern India two different Rāgas, bearing somewhat similar names, are known. One is called Kānaḍā and the other Kannāḍa, both being *Janya* or Secondary Rāgas. The former is a derivative of *Mēlakartā* Kharaharapriyā and the latter of Dhīra-Śaṅkarābharana. All the Rāgas are divided into two main classes, namely, Primary (or *janaka*) Rāgas, and Secondary (or *Janya*) Rāgas. The former are known in Southern India as *Mēlakartās* or 'Lords of Melody', and also as *Sampūrṇa* Rāgas. The Secondary or *Janya* Rāgas are derived from these *Mēlakartās*.

The title of the Rāga represented by the sketch must, however, be 'Kānaḍā'. In the words *putra-Mēghēda*, the Tāṁkri writer has omitted lengthening the vowels and put *a* instead of *ā*.

¹ Johnson's Collection, India Office, London, has a picture of this Rāga which is reproduced in *The Music of India* by H. A. Popley.

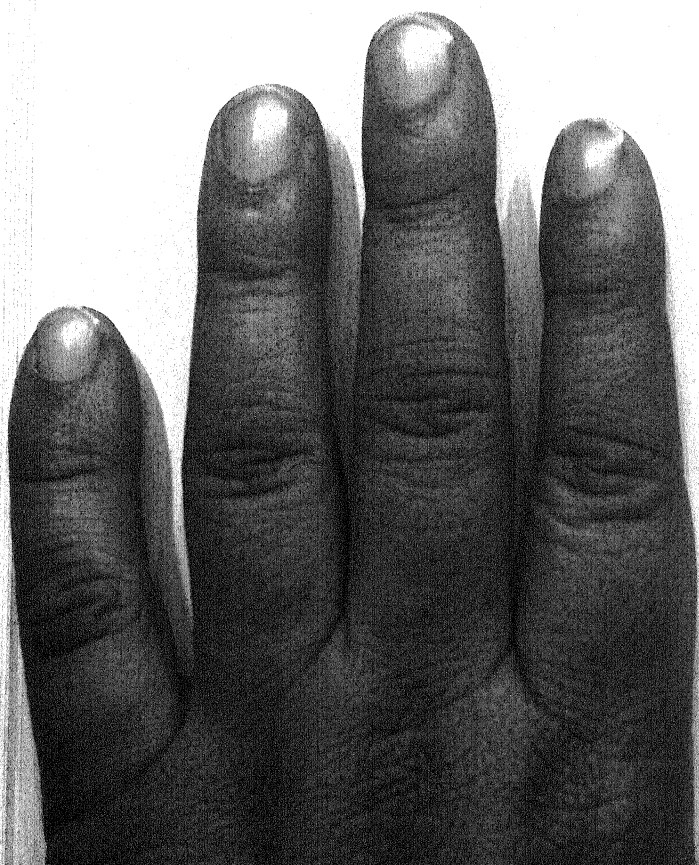


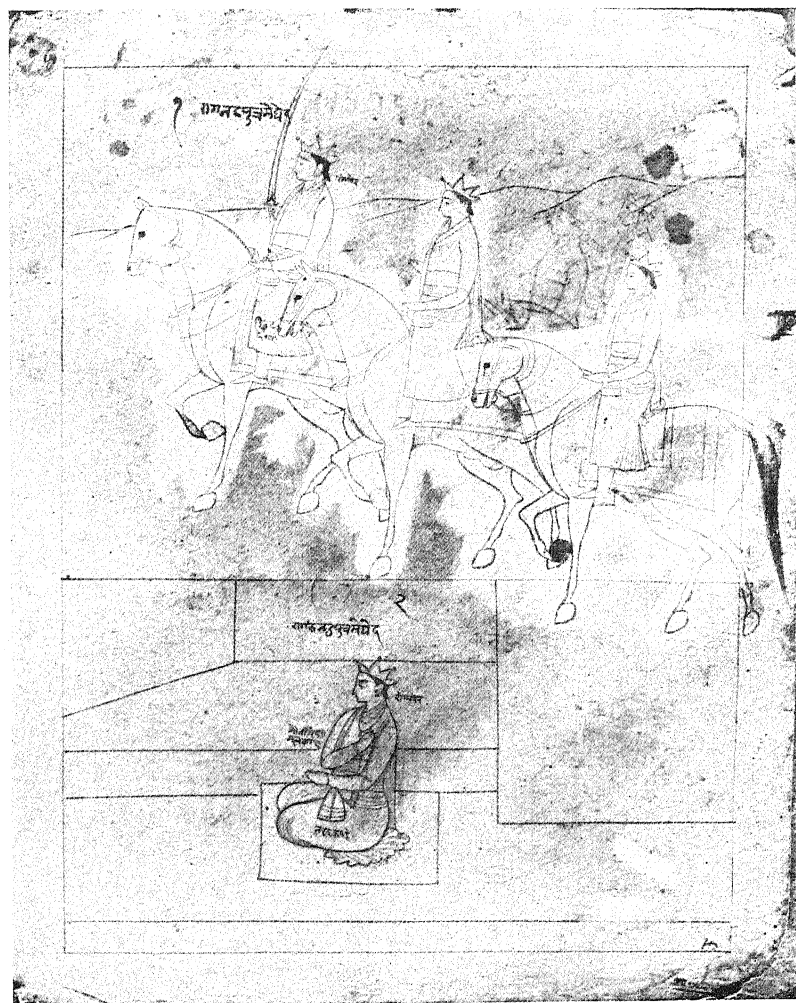
Rāgmālā Paintings.

J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII. 1.

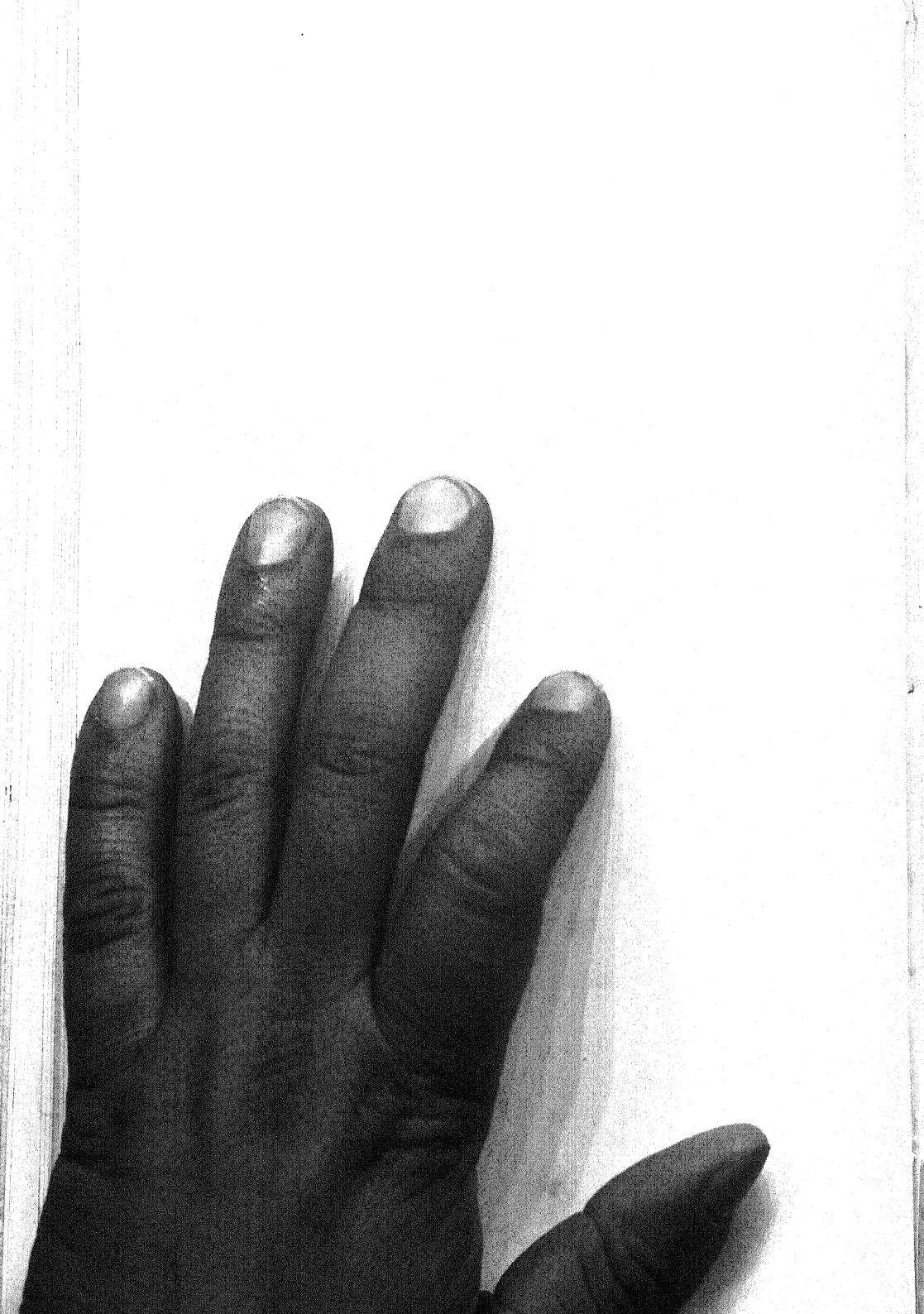


Rāgamālā Paintings.





Rāgamālā Paintings.



It does not matter much if the actual painted copies of the sketch have not yet come out. They might be found some time. In support of my view I might refer to the representation of the Mēgha Rāga which also comes from Kāṅgrā and has already been reproduced by the learned Doctor himself in his highly interesting *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part V, Rājput Painting (plate CIII, LXXVII). Here, it will not be out of place to reproduce two of the Kāṅgrā paintings with me which appear to be connected with the *Rāgamālās*, though they bear no names. One of them, possibly, represents the Varārī Rāgiṇī.¹ The position of the hands and the arms stretched overhead in an amorous mood is very similar to what we see in the figures of this Rāgiṇī which have been reproduced in the aforementioned *Catalogue* (Plates XXIII and XXXI) although the lady is standing and has no maid or confidante in attendance.

¹ This picture is unfinished.

IV.—Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja

By Pandit Binayak Misra, Calcutta University

This grant had been kept in the palace of the Ruling Chief of the Bod State since long. No report as to its discovery is available. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Pandit Tarakeshwar Ganguly of Mayurbhanj, who got it from the Chief of Bod and gave me for decipherment.

The grant consists of 5 thin plates, each measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 3". They are strung on a ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter, which passes through a hole, square in size and bored at the left margin at a distance of $\frac{5}{8}$ " from the edge of each plate. Both ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper, the top surface of which is $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It contains, in relief, the figure of a lion in the squatting posture, with the head hung down, facing to the right. The edge of the seal has been raised into a rim in order to protect the figure from being damaged. The obverse of the first plate contains no writing.

The characters of this grant are, in form, almost similar to those of the Ganjam plate of the 7th century A.C.¹. The e-mark has been shown on the left top corner of single consonant (cf. *devaḥ* in l. 16 and *māheśvara* in l. 15). But in the case of conjunct letter, the same mark has been incised exactly on the head of the letter (cf. *khaṇḍendo* in l. 2 and *padme* in l. 4). The stroke of â-mark has not touched the base of the letter (cf. *sāndra* and *rāga* in l. 1). There is no remarkable differences between 'bha' and 'ha'. They may, therefore, be assigned to the 8th century A.C. at the latest.

The text is in the Sanskrit language. There is hardly any orthographical error. It opens with a verse, composed in the Śārdulavikrīḍita metre, praying the matted hair of Sthāṇu (Śiva) for protection. Then runs the description, in prose, of the city of new Āṅgulaka, the place of issue of the grant, which is identical with Angul of the present day.

The donor was Paramamāheśvara Netṭabhaṇja, who should not be confounded with Netṭabhaṇja of the Daspalla plate¹, since the characters and the seal of the latter's grant radically differ from the present plate.

The grant records the gift of the village Sthambakāra-laṇḍaka including the boundary of Battarāghāṭa in Khaṇḍakṣetra of the Olāśṛṅga district. The gift was made to signify the merit of Bāsatādevi, the deceased queen of the donor. The donee Mādhavasvāmi belonged to Vājasaneyacharaṇa and Pārāśarasa school of the Kānva branch. The plate was written by Nanna (Lalla ?) and incised by Bāddarākanādāsa.

Netṭabhaṇja is said to be the ornament of the spotless family existing on the earth. The legend of the birth of the founder of Bhaṇja family, from the egg of a pea-hen has been omitted in this plate.

The place Battarāghāṭa, mentioned in this plate, is identical with Patrapada lying on the bank of an insignificant river in Angul. Khaṇḍakṣetra and Olāśṛṅga seem not to be different from Khaṇḍakṣetra and Oḍayaśṛṅga of Janamejaya's plate². I, therefore, identify Olāśṛṅga or Oḍayaśṛṅga with Oida lying on the north bank of the Mahānadi in the Athmallik State.

Śatrubhaṇja, the donor of the Tasapaikera charter³, addressed the order to the officers of the both Khiṇjalis. There can be no doubt as to the extension of the kingdom of the Bhaṇja rulers, to the south of the Mahānadi. It is therefore evident that there were two Khiṇjalis—one lay to the south and the other to the north of the Mahānadi. The southern Khiṇjali may be identified with Khijaripara in Bod and the northern Khiṇjali with Hijjali in Angula. The identification of Khiṇjali with either Khimedy or Keonjhar⁴ carries no conviction into the minds of the readers.

The origin of the Bhaṇja dynasty has so far remained obscure. In the plates, later in date than the present grant,

¹ Above Vol. VI, p. 276.

² E.I. Vol. III, pp. 340-44.

³ Above Vol. II, p. 174. l. 2, Read Khiṇjalyādhipati.

⁴ E.I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 288-292.

the origin of this dynasty has been traced to the egg of a peahen and the sage Vaśiṣṭha¹.

The grant of Udayavarāha², discovered in the Bonai State lying in the proximity of Mayurbhanj, discloses that the ancestor of the donor, belonging to Mayūra family, came from the Chitrakūṭa, the abode of the sage Vaśiṣṭha. This grant has a peacock seal. The editor of this plate has identified this Mayūra family with the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanja, the present insignia and the Gotra-name of which are peacock and Vaśiṣṭha respectively.

We get from the votive inscription³ on the image of Avalokiteśvara found at Khiching in Mayurbhanj and preserved there in the museum that the said image, belonging to Rāyabhañja, was made with the help of Dharaṇivarāha for (signifying) the glory. The peacock-designs are also abundantly found in the architectural remains at Khiching. Again the manner of the expression of Dharaṇivarāha's name, leads me to suppose that Dharaṇivarāha was not an ordinary man, but a ruler. If it be so, this Dharaṇivarāha may be connected with Udayavarāha of the Mayūra family. It, therefore, occurs to me that the Bhañja family had kinship with the Mayūra family. Again the present Kadamba family of Bonai, the origin of which has been traced in the old copper plate records to Mayūrasarmmā⁴, may be supposed to be the remnant of Mayūra family of the plate discovered in the same Bonai State. Moreover Barāhabhūm of Chutianagpur, which may be supposed to be the territory governed by the Varāhas of Mayūra family, is not far from Khiching in Mayurbhanj. It will be, therefore, not absurd to say that Bhañja family and Mayūra family both ruled the countries lying contiguously. I shall show later on that one affix added to the names of one ruling family was not probably adopted by another family of Orissa. Consequently Dharaṇivarāha could easily be connected with the Mayūra family

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. XL, 1871, p. 166.

² Above Vol. VI, p. 243.

³ L. 1. Om rājāyaḥ śrī Rāyabhañjasya lokaśa-bhagavān=ayaṁ.

L. 2. Dharaṇivarāheṇa saha kirtti-vinirmitaḥ.

⁴ E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 28.

of Udayavarāha. Besides, Mayûrabhaṇja, the name of the State, proves itself that it owes its origin to the Bhaṇja branch of Mayûra family. Taking all these facts into consideration, I accept the view of the learned editor of Udayavarāha's plate that Bhaṇja and Mayûra both were one and the same family.

The readers should bear in mind that in Orissa, different affixes, such as *rāja*, *stambha*, *tuṅga*, *nanda* and *kara* were selected by different ruling families, each to be commonly added to the names of the rulers of a particular family. *Rāja* was added to the names of the rulers of the Śailadbhava family¹. The names of the rulers of the Śulki family often ended with the *Stambha* suffix². The affix 'tuṅga' commonly added to the names of the rulers of a certain family, subsequently became an appellation of that family³. Such was also the case with the *nanda* affix which denoted a family⁴. The Bhauma dynasty was known as *Kara* family, because the names of the rulers of that dynasty had *Kara* suffix⁵. The readers should now take note of the fact that one affix selected by one family was not adopted by another in the same Orissa Province. It is, therefore, not difficult to find out the reason why the Mayûra family came to be known as Bhaṇja family.

If we omit the *Bhaṇja* affix from the names of the early kings of the epigraphic records of the Bhaṇja family, we find that Koṭṭa, Diga, Raṇa, Śilā, Śatru and Netṛi each cannot independently denote a proper name of the person. I, therefore, assert that the *bhaṇja* affix was selected by one branch, and *varāha* by the other branch of the same Mayûra family to be commonly added to the names of the rulers of the respective branches, and, therefore, Bhaṇja became an appellation of the former branch in later times. As the present record which is the earliest of all Bhaṇja records so far discovered, does not mention the family, which its donor belonged to, as Bhaṇja, it

¹ Above Vol. XVI, pp. 176-88, Mādhavarāja, Madhyamarāja, etc.

² Above Vol. II, p. 405 Raṇastambha, Kulastambha, etc.

³ Khadgatunga Vinitatunga, etc., Above Vol. VI, p. 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 241-45, Jayānanda, Parānanda, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 72, Sivakara, Santikara, etc.

is probable that this family came to be known as Bhañja in later time, owing to Bhañja affix used by its early rulers.

We find the figure of a lion on the seal of the present plate. But the plate¹ of Raṇabhañja, of Mayurbhanj, contains the figure of a bull on the seal, while the present seal of the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj contains the figure of a peacock. We learn from the Hindol plate, that the original emblem of the Bhauma dynasty was a lion². But on the seals of their plates, we notice the figures of bull and crescent instead of lion. There are abundant instances of the change of seal in the same family of the epigraphic records. The difference in seal does not therefore stand in the way of placing all the Bhañja rulers of Orissa under one family, since they have harmoniously claimed one descent since long and no inter-marriage is ever allowed between themselves.

According to the view of Mr. Belgar, the Bhañja family is an off-shoot of the glorious Maurya dynasty³. The legend of the birth of the ancestor of the historical Maurya family supports now his assertion. We find the mythological story in the Pag Sam Jon Zang, Part I, by Pal Jor of Tibet (edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, B.A., C.I.E.) that the founder of the solar dynasty, which the Maurya family emanated from, was born of an egg, which was hatched in the sun's ray. In Orissa Bhañja family is also known as the solar dynasty. Again the legend of the origin of the Bhañja family is in harmony with that of the Maurya. Besides, the word Maurya may easily be transformed to Mayūra by the phonetic rules of the Oriya language. It is therefore probable that the Bhañja family sprang from the Maurya family.

The numerical symbols have been used in writing the date of this plate. In the last line of the last plate, the symbol, preceding to the decimal figure 3 and succeeding to the word *Vadi*, must be read as 10 to make out the meaning that the deed was executed on the 13th day of the dark

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. XL, 1871, p. 161.

² Above Vol. XVI, p. 75.

³ Report of Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XII, app. (b) pp. 110-11.

fortnight of the month of Karttika. In that case, the other symbol, succeeding to the word *samvat*, which is quite different in form from that occurring after *Vadi*, can be read with the help of Bühler's chart (table IX, Col. 24) as 90. Thus the year is 98 (90, 8).

The era has not been specified in this plate. I suggested that the unspecified era, found in the plates of Bhauma dynasty, might be taken as Harṣa era, because we learn from the "Life of Hiuen Tsang by Samuel Beal" that Śilāditya Harṣavarddhana established his supremacy over Orissa¹. In the opinion of Dr. Keilhorn these unspecified eras of Orissa belonged to Harṣa era, because the representation of numerical figures by symbols was the specific feature of Harṣa's reign.² This assertion is also corroborated by other facts. In the Dhenkanal plate, Tribhuvanamahādevī, queen of Lalitahāra, is said to be the daughter of Śrī-Rājamalladeva³, the ornament of the southern region. We get from the Hindol plate that the same Tribhuvanamahādevī was born of a Nāga dynasty⁴. I, therefore, identify this Rājamalla with Pallavamalla of southern India, who is also known as Kshatriyamalla⁵, first because the Pallavas are supposed to have belonged to the Nāga race⁶, secondly the ancestor of Pallavamalla is said to be the son of the daughter of a serpent king⁷ and thirdly Rāja is synonym of kṣatriya. This Pallavamalla is known to have ruled in the first half of the 8th century A.C.⁸. The period of his reign was not less than 50 years⁹. I have said that the year of the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī is 160 or 161 and that of the Hindol plate of her son Śubhākaradeva is 150¹⁰. My friend Mr. Paramanand Acharya has also read the numerical symbols of the year of the Dhenkanal plate

¹ Above Vol. XVI, p. 77.

² E.I. Vol. VI, p. 134. Notes 5 and 6.

³ Above Vol. II, p. 422, ls. 11-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 71.

⁵ South Ind. Inscription Vol. II, p. 345.

⁶ Jouveau-Dubreul, Pondicheri 1917.

⁷ S.I. Inscription Vol. II, p. 508.

⁸ E.I. Vol. V, p. 157.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Above Vol. XVI, p. 76.

as 160 and that of the Kumuranga plate of Dandimahādevi, daughter of Tribhuvanamahādevi, as 187¹. In case of the acceptance of Harṣa era, we should find that Śubhākara II was reigning in 756–57 A.C., Tribhuvanamahādevi in 766–67 A.C. and Dandimahādevi in 793–94 A.C. I have corrected the reading of the numerical symbols of the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara I, the grandfather of Śubhākara II². The year 84 of this plate, corresponds to 690–91 A.C. I had also scrutinized the facsimile print of the Chaurāśi grant³, in collaboration with Mr. P. Acharya, and found that the numerical symbol of that plate could be read as 93 (90, 3). The last line of the Chaurasi grant of Śivakaradeva should correctly be read as *virajā-vāstavya-taptākāra-Harivarddhana* *likhitam=iti* instead of *chiraja vāstavya taṣṭākāra*.... In that case, we can find that the plate was heated by Harivarddhana who was a resident of Virajākṣetra, i.e., Jajpur. The aforesaid Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevi is said to have been incised by Harivarddhana and his son Rasabhavarddhana. I now hold that the former Harivarddhana is identical with the latter Harivarddhana. If it be so, the margin of time between these two plates cannot be more than 70 years. It is, therefore, evident that the identification of Guheśvarapātaka with Godhaneswarpatna and the chronological table of the Bhauma kings, given by me in the June issue of this Journal, both are right. Consequently I think, the readers would unhesitatingly accept the date of Chaurasi grant of Sivakaradeva, as 93. Śivakara of the Chaurāśi grant has been identified with Kusumahāra, the elder brother of Lalitahāra alias Śāntikara⁴. The Dhauli inscription of Śāntikara bears also the year 93 of an unspecified era⁵. It can be held that Śivakara, son of Śubhākara could not rule long, because of his premature death which might be gleaned from the fact that he was succeeded by his younger brother, for want of issue. However, the reign of Śivakara falls in 699–700 A.C. which synchronises with the date of the Dhauli inscription of Śāntikara. The death of the former and the accession of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292–306.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 72–73.

⁵ E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 263–64.

the latter to the throne, probably took place in that year. However the reign of Śāntikara synchronises with that of Pallavamalla. It is therefore probable that Harṣa era was in use in Orissa. In support of this assumption I may proceed to discuss other points.

We do not know what became of the Bhauma dynasty after 793-94 A.C. It can be gleaned from the inscriptions of Dandimahādevī that the Bhauma dynasty was no longer powerful¹. Mr. P. Acharya has drawn my attention to Tārānātha's account that several families in Orissa assumed independence and Devapāla also conquered that country². Devapāla's invasion of Orissa is recorded also in the inscriptions³. Devapāla's reign falls between 809-49 A.C.⁴.

Again Govinda III of the Rāstrakūta family, who ruled between 794-813 A.C.⁵ is said to have invaded Orissa⁶. It can, therefore, be gathered that in the 9th century A.C. the political condition of Orissa was in chaos. It is now probable that Śulkis, Tuṅgas, Nandas, and Bhañjas got the privilege of granting lands without referring to their over-lord, in the 9th century A.C. The Dhenkanal grant A of Raṇastambha (above Vol. II) contains the date *lva*, 3, which can be read as 203 corresponding to 809-10 A.C. Again the date of the Jayapur plate of Devānandadeva (above Vol. XV) is 193 which corresponds to 799-800 A.C.

We learn from the Ganjam plate⁷ that the Sailodbhava rulers had the right of granting lands in Koṅgada in 619-20 A.C. Again we learn that Śubhākara II⁸ and Dandimahādevī⁹ of the Bhauma dynasty, granted land in the same Koṅgada in the 8th century A.C. No grant of the Śailodbhava rulers of the 8th century A.C. has so far been discovered. The grant of Dharmarāja of the Śailodbhava family has wrongly been assigned to 694 A.C.¹⁰. It is mentioned in this plate that Madhyamarāja, the father of

¹ E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. IV, p. 360-66.

³ The Palas of Bengal, By R. D. Banerjee, p. 65, Verse 13.

⁴ Above Vol. XV, p. 5.

⁵ E.I. Vol. VII, App. II, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

⁷ E.I. Vol. VI, p. 143.

⁸ J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV, p. 192.

⁹ E.I. Vol. VI, pp. 133-42.

¹⁰ Above Vol. XVI, pp. 176-188.

the donor, defeated Tivaradeva. This Tivaradeva was undoubtedly the same Tivaradeva of the Sirpur Gupta family, since the rebellious Mādhava, for whose cause Tivaradeva waged war against Madhyamarāja, is said to have taken refuge at the foot of the Vindhya. Chandragupta, the brother of Tivaradeva, was a contemporary of Govind III¹ who flourished in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. Consequently Dharmarāja cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the end of the 8th century A.C. The donor of the Puri plate is not different from that of the Kondenda grant of the Śailodbhava family. The text of the Parikud plate is also a copy of that of the Puri plate. The Buguda plate is not also much earlier than the Parikud plate. All these plates are certainly not earlier than the last decade of the 8th century A.C. It, therefore, appears that Śailodbhavas acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhauma rulers in the 8th century A.C. when the powerful ruler Pallavamalla of Southern India, gave his daughter to Śāntikara in marriage. This is why the Śailodbhava rulers of the 8th century A.C. could not make land grants. The Śailodbhava family may, therefore, be supposed to have risen again into power after the fall of Bhaumas. It is now evident that Orissa was really in a chaotic political condition in the 9th century A.C. Therefore, the invasion of Orissa by Yavanas and Raktabāhu, which caused the concealment of the image of lord Jagannātha at Sonepur, as recorded in the Madalāpāñji, may be assigned to this century. Ratṭa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) has probably been taken as Rakta by the compiler of the chronicle.

The era, used in Orissa, has been taken as Gaṅga era by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee². In case of the acceptance of the Gaṅga era, the date of the Kumurāṅga plate of Dandimahadevī falls in 965 A.C., as the initial year of the Gaṅga era is 778 A.C. according to the same authority. We are, therefore, in a great difficulty to fix the dates of the rulers of the Gupta dynasty of Orissa. Therefore the era, used in Orissa, cannot be taken as other than Harsa era. Consequently the year 98 of this plate corresponds to 704-5 A.C.

¹ E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

² E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 263-64.

We learn from the Dhenkanal plate that Malladeva saved the Bhauma family from a calamity. It is, therefore, probable that Netṭabhaṇja attempted to usurp the suzerain power of Orissa. We find in the inscription that Pallavamalla defeated one Udaya, the King of the Śavaras, and extorted from him the banner on which the design of peacock's tail was made with glasses (of different colours)¹. I am now tempted to identify this Udaya with Udayavarāha, first because the emblem of peacock's tail on his banner was unquestionably probable, and secondly he, being a ruler of the highlands of Orissa, must have been a King of the Śavaras. In that case Netṭabhaṇja might be supposed to have caused disturbance by joining with Udayavarāha, since they both have been said to have belonged to one and the same dynasty. This is why Netṭabhaṇj availed himself of the privilege of granting lands without referring to sovereign Lord.

As the use of Harsa era in Orissa has been proved above beyond a shadow of doubt, I can now emphatically say that the year 288 of Raṇabhaṇja's plate² of Mayurbhaṇj corresponds to 894-95 A.C.

I hope to be excused if I attempt to correct in conclusion a previous error which bears no link with the present topic.

I ask the readers to take *kamalākara-bhāskareṣu*, occurring in the 3rd line of the Hindol plate, published in the last June issue of this Journal, as an adjective of Lakṣmīkara. The mistake was due to a wrong notion that two kings, under the names of Kamalākara and Bhāskara, are found in the Tibbetan account.

I edit the text from the original.

TEXT.

First Plate (Reverse).

L. 1.....Om svasti ³netro=rdhvam=vṛti-sāndra-rāga-
kapila-

¹ S.I.I. Vol. II, p. 364, Ls. 51-56, pratipakṣam=Uday=ābhidhānam śavarājam bhitvā mayūra-kalāpa-virachitan=darpaṇa-dhvajam grhīta-vān |

² J.A.S.B. XL, 1871, p. 166.

³ Sardulavikrīdita metre.

- L. 2.....prānta-prabho—dbhāsītāḥ | khaṇḍe = ndor = dyuti-
bhir = vviśu-
L. 3.....ddha-dhavalāḥ nīla-svabhādāḥ kvachit |
L. 4.....raktāḥ pannaga-bhoga- ratna-manibhiḥ padme =
L. 5.....ndra-rāg = āruṇiāḥ || nānā-varṇnadhare = ndrachā =
L. 6.....pa-ruchirāḥ sthānor = jjatāḥ pāntu vaḥ || nānā-rā
L. 7.....m = ābhirāmo = dyānavat ṣaṇḍa-maṇḍana-mano-
ha =

Second Plate (Obverse).

- L. 8.....ra-kusuma-stavak = ākīrṇṇe | vividha-vidvad =
dvija-
L. 9.....jan = ākule | nānā-digantar = āgata-paṇḍita = sā =
L. 10.....rth = ārthi-sambhṛta-vividha-panyai (ḥ) pachīya-
mā¹ =
L. 11.....na-vipaṇi-vaṇig = janapadai (ḥ) śrīmati nav =
L. 12.....Āṅgulakapattane | prṛthu (śa)rad = amala-nīlāvja
(?) -tanu nīsi =
L. 13.....ta-nistṛimś = āhṛti-kara-vichchurita-bhuja-yuga-
lah |
L. 14.....kṣititala-vi (?) mala-kula-tilakah

Second Plate (Reverse).

- L. 15.....Parama-māheśvaro mātā-pitr-pād = ānudyā =
L. 16.....taḥ śrī-Netṭabhañjadevaḥ kuśali | Olāśr =
L. 17.....ṅga-ṣiṣaye | śrī-sāmanta-mahāsā =
L. 18.....manta-mahārājā-rājānaka-rājapu =
L. 19.....ttr = āntaraṅga-kumār = āmātya-parika-tadā yuk-
ta =
L. 20.....kān = varttamāna-bhaviṣyad = adhikaraṇān yath =
ārham

Third Plate (Obverse).

- L. 21.....satkr̥tya samājñāpayati viditas = bhavatu bhava =
L. 22.....tām = etad = ṣiṣaya- sambaddha- Khaṇḍaksetra-
Stambakāra-lau
L. 23.....ṇḍakah prāk = parichehḥinna-Battarāghāta si =

¹ Read prachīyamāna,

- L. 24.....mā-sameto=smābhir=vvâjasaneya-
 L. 25.....charaṇāya kânva-pârâsarasa-gotrāya Mâ=
 L. 26.....dhavasvâmine salila-dhârâ-puras=sarenavi=
 L. 27.....dhin=âchandr=ârka-kṣiti-kṣitidhara-samakâlâ=

Third Plate (Reverse).

- L. 28.....ya svar=lloka-gatâyâḥ rājñi śrī-Bâsatâ-
 L. 29.....devyâḥ paraloka-gamana-punya-sambhâramu=
 L. 30.....ddiśya sukrta-dharmma-phala-prâ=
 L. 31.....pti-vivṛddhaye pratipâditas=tad=eta=
 L. 32.....t = tāmrapatṭa-darśanâd = yathâkâlo = tpâdyaṁ
 mâna=
 L. 33.....sasya jâtayate na saṅgraha-samrakṣaṇo=pa

Fourth Plate (Obverse).

- L. 34.....bhoga=dânâdi-viniyogaṁ=upayunjanasy=
 L. 35.....âśya kṣitipatir=gauravâd=dharmma-gauravâch=
 cha
 L. 36.....na kaiś=chid=vighâtaḥ karaṇīya ity=uktañ=
 L. 37.....cha dharmma-sâstre | vahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ
 L. 38.....râjabhiḥ Sagarâdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ bhû=
 L. 39.....mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ | mâbhûd=aphala-

Fourth Plate (Reverse).

- L. 40.....śaṅkā vaḥ paradatt=eti pârthivâḥ svadânât=pha=
 L. 41.....lam=ânantyaṁ paradatt=ânupâlanam | ṣaṣṭim
 va=
 L. 42.....rṣa-sahasreṇa svarge modati bhû=
 L. 43.....midah âkṣiptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tanye =
 L. 44.....va narake vaset||dânânâm=iha
 L. 45.....bhûmi-dânam=adhikam saṁkṣ (iptaḥ) śṛta

Fifth Plate (Obverse).

- L. 46.....ya-phalaṁ | no gobhir=nnahiranyaajair=nnahi
 L. 47.....dhanair=anyair =mmanohârîbhiḥ||mâtangaiḥ śita-
 L. 48.....châru-châmara-chalat = tuṅgais = turaṅgair = n=
 etat |
 L. 49.....bhûdânâd=api bhûtaye bhûvi mahach=chhrey-
 am=

L. 50.....param pālanam | iti kamala-dal=āmbu-bindu-
lo=

L. 51.....lam śriyam=anuchintya manuṣya jivitaṁ=cha—

Fifth Plate (Reverse).

L. 52.....lam=idam=udāhṛtaṁ=cha budhvā nahi puruṣaiḥ

L. 53.....para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ | svayaṁ rājñā pradatt=

L. 54.....ājñā | śri aṇṇena ullekhitam | utkirṇam

L. 55.....Bāddarākanādāsa | tāmrapaṭṭakam=iti

L. 56.....samvat 90,8 kārṭti (ka) vadi 10,3

TRANSLATION.

LS. 1-6..Om. Be it well. Let the matted hair of Sthānu (Śiva)—the radiant (front) side of which shines with deep brown splendour having the choice of upward flow from the eyes (of Śiva)—which is brilliantly white with the rays of the crescent—which holds excellent blue appearance in some places—which is red with the gems having the radiance of ruby and sapphire and adorning the hood of serpent, and which is as charming as the rainbow, on account of the holding of the different colours—protect you all.

LS. 6-12..In the city of new Āṅgulaka—which is charming by (the presence of) numerous lovely women—which, being decorated with groups of trees, is over-spread with the bunches of nice flowers and thus looks like a garden—which is densely populated by learned Brahmins of different classes—which is crowded by the scholars, wealthy persons and supplicants, who have come from various foreign countries and which is made prosperous by the merchants' community having an enhanced sale of commodities of all descriptions.

LS. 12-21..Parama-māheśvara Śri Netṭabhaṇja—whose large body resembles (in beauty) an autumnal stainless blue lily—whose couple of hands are bestrewed

with the rays of sharp swords taken by him and who is the ornament of the spotless family existing on the earth—meditating on the feet of parents, being in good health and having duly entertained the feudatories, great feudatories, lords, chiefs, princes, sons of the king (by concubine), ministers, the officers of the appointment department, and all other present and future officers of the Olâśrnga district—intimates and orders :

LS. 21-31.. Be it known to you that the village Stambakâra—lauṇḍaka in Khaṇḍakṣetra of this district, with the fixed eastern boundary of Battarâghâṭa has been granted, according to the principle of libation of water, to Mâdhavasvâmi, belonging to Vâjasaneyacharaṇa and Pârâśarasa school of the Kanva branch, for signifying the merit of the deceased queen Bâsaṭâ-devî and for the increase of the rewards of good acts, to enjoy as long as the sun, moon, earth and the holder of the earth (Vâsuki) exist.

LS. 31-34.. Having noticed this copper plate there arises no expression, suiting the moment, in the mind (of mine), who has given away this gift with the right of collection, preservation, enjoyment, and distribution.

LS. 35-39.. Out of respect to the king and religion, this should be confiscated by nobody. It is narrated in the scriptures that the lands have been granted by many, such as the king Sagara and others, and the rewards of these grants belong to whosoever at any time possesses the earth.

LS. 39-53.. Oh kings! Have no doubt of reward on the ground that it is another's grant. The maintenance of another's gift has a far greater reward than one's own grant. The grantor of the land enjoys happiness in the heaven for 60,000 years while the confiscator and the person, who acquiesces in

so doing, dwells in the hell. The reward of the gift of land is far greater than that described in the scriptures. Such reward should not accrue to us by the gift of cow, gold, wealth, or of other pleasant things, such as the elephants and horses moving the beautiful and white plumes (on the head). The preservation of another's gift is far better than one's own gift for prosperity. No one should confiscate the gift granted by other than self by fully understanding the above mentioned verses and remembering that the life and wealth of the man are unsteady like the drop of water on the petal of lotus.

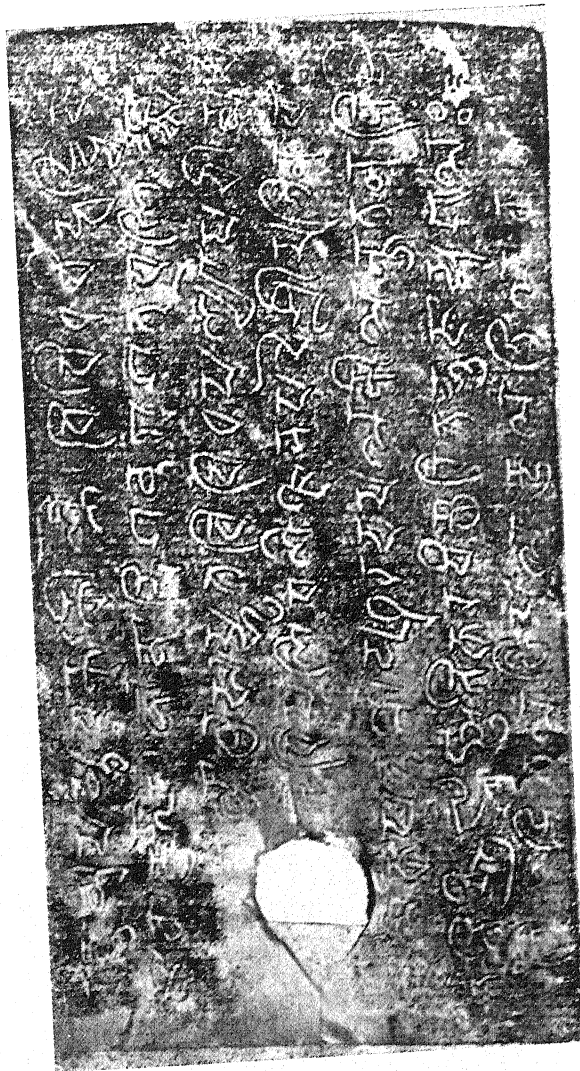
Is. 53-56.. The king himself issued this order. It is written by Nanna and the copper plate is incised by Bāddarākanādāsa. In the year 98 (90,8), on the day 13 (10,3) of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika.



Copper plate of Nettabhañja.

First plate (Reverse).



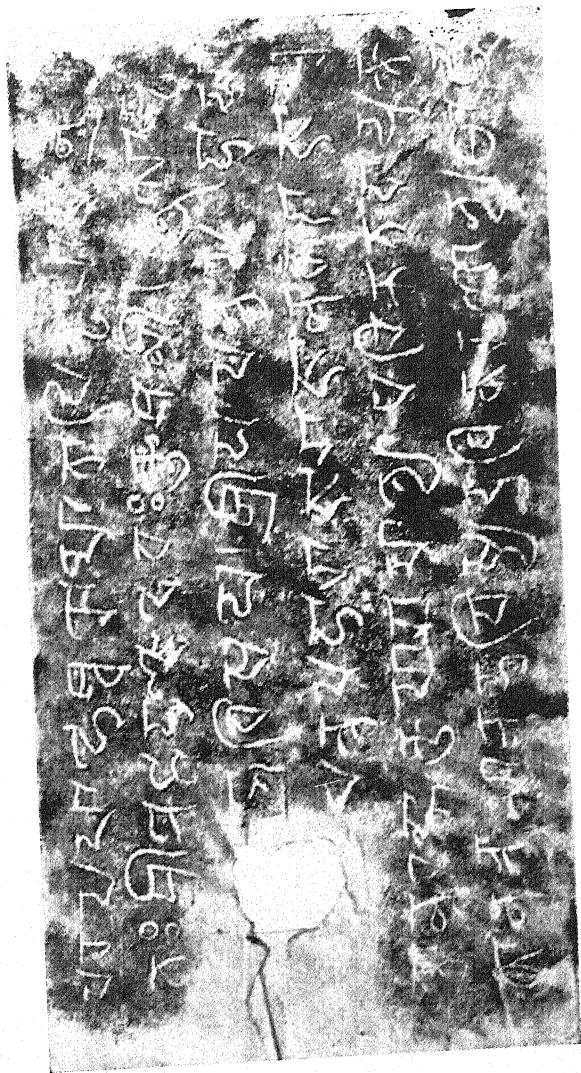


Copper plate of Netrabhāṇi.

Second plate (Obverse).

2

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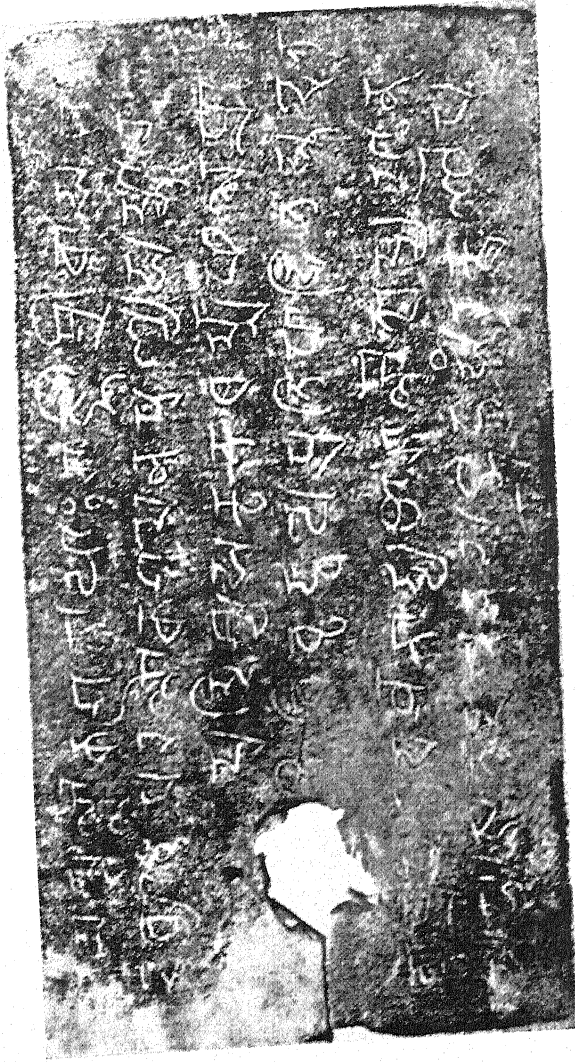
Copper plate of Nettabhañja.

Second plate (Reverse).



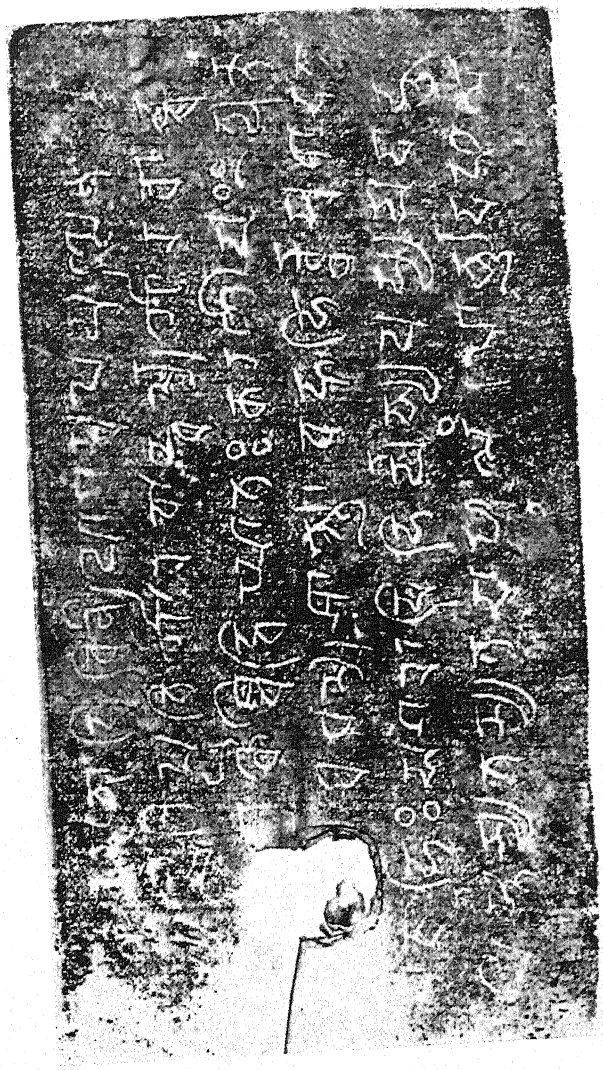
Copper plate of Nettiyaṅga.

Third plate (Obverse).



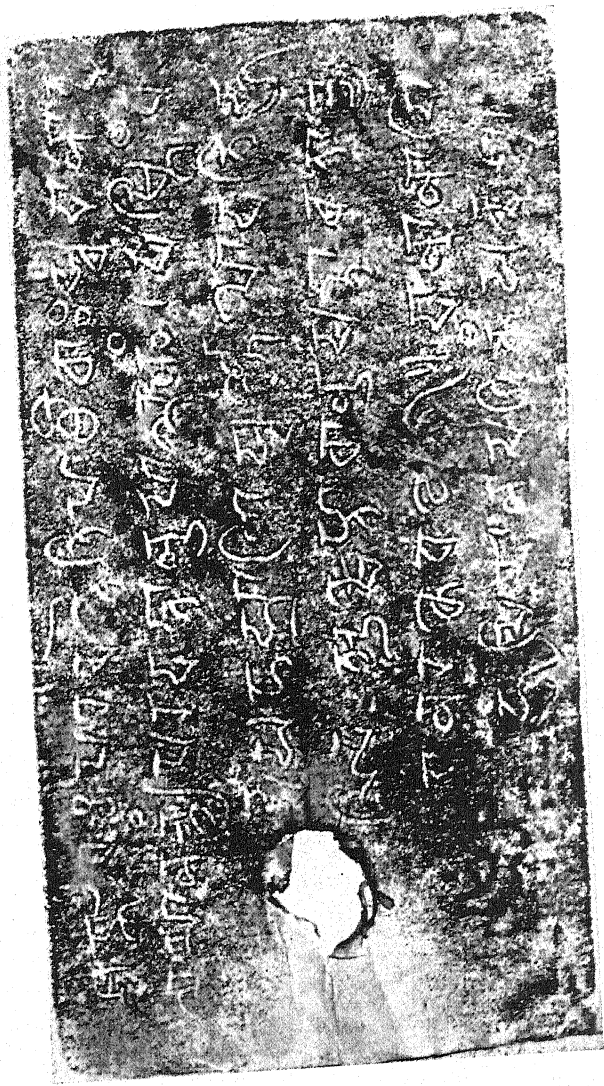
Copper plate of Nettabhañja.

Third plate (Reverse).



Copper plate of Nettabhāñja.

Fourth plate (Obverse).



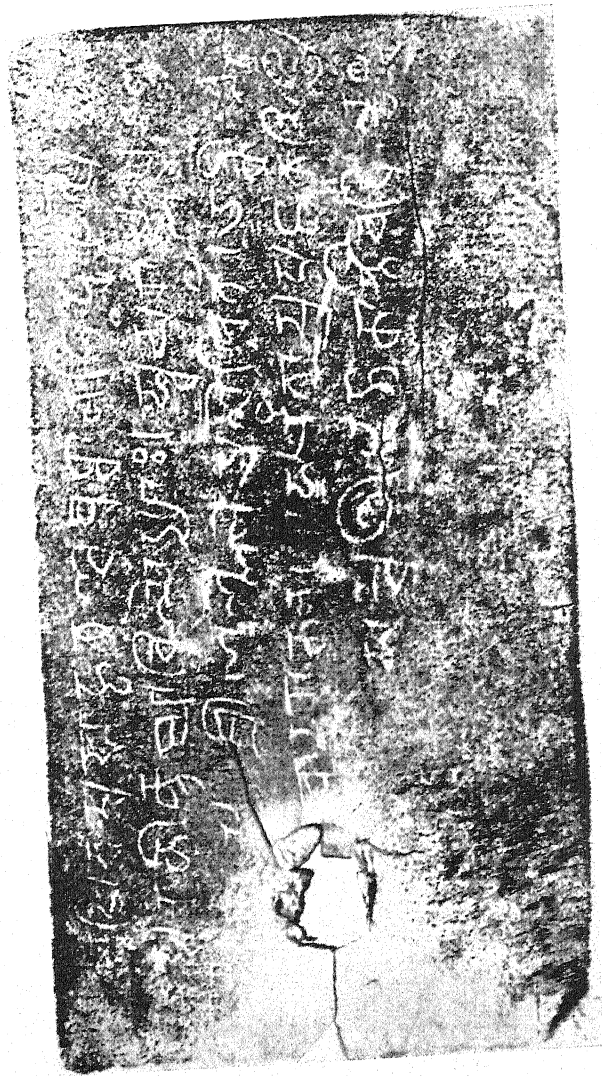
Copper plate of Nettabhāṇja.

Fourth plate (Reverse).



Copper plate of Nettabhañja.

Fifth plate (Obverse).



Copper plate of Netrabhañña.

Fifth plate (Reverse)

V.—Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth.

By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.

About 30 miles to the south of the Cuttack town and about 20 miles or so from Puri on the Cuttack-Kakatpur Road and on the boundary of Cuttack and Puri Districts is situated the village of Niali which is now noted for extensive betel leaf cultivation. Village Niali is sandwiched between the adjacent villages of Pubakhand *alias* Purbakhand on the east and Majhikhand *alias* Madhyakhand on the west. But strange to say in spite of the existence of villages Purbakhand and Madhyakhand there is no Antyakhand or Uttarkhand or Paśchimkhand in the neighbourhood. The villages adjoining Majhikhand on the west are Nuāgan, Korkor, Khandasari, Govindpadā, Subarnpur, etc.

The four villages Pubakhand, Niali, and Majhikhand and Nuagan as already said are contiguous to each other and from the names at least it is quite clear that these villages originally formed one big village which probably went by the name of NIALI. There is a very old Brahman Sason at Niali. In village Nuagan of the present day there is an old *Math* and the important temple of Śobhaneśwar which is the subject matter of this article is also situated in the same village.

The temple is an old one. It is surrounded by a compound wall which is at its greatest about 8 or 9 ft. high. The compound is about 185 ft. by 105 ft. in dimension. At the foot of the compound wall on the west was formerly flowing the sacred river PRĀCHĪ which is now almost completely silted up. Of the temple the *Baradeula* and the *Jagamohan* now exist and in front of the latter and adjoining it there was a *mandap* and adjoining it was the *Mukhasāli*. The *mandap* and *Mukhasāli* had probably one roof although the plinths of the two are of different height, that of the *Mukhasāli* being about 5 ft. high and that of the *mandap* less than 2 ft. Of these two structures only the plinths and the stone pillars now exist. There is no sign of there ever having been a wall around what I call the *Mukhasāli*. A part of the plinth of the *mandap* on the south-

ern side has sunken down to the ground level and some of the pillars outbalanced in consequence. The *Baradeula* and the *Jagamohan* are in tolerably good condition. In the three *parswadeulas* of the temple on the south, west, and north are the images of Ganes, Kārtik, and Pārvati respectively. By observation of the structure and situation of the temples it appears the main temple with the *parswadeulas* of Ganes and Kārtik was there from before and the *Jagamohan*, *mandap*, etc., and the *parswadeula* of Pārvati were added subsequently. The *ANTARALA* between the main temple and the *Jagamohan* is found clearly to consist of two separate structures of different periods, as if two doorways have been placed side by side, no portion of the one having been dovetailed into the other which would have been the case had the entire *antarala* been one continuous structure built at one and the same time. It is for this reason that about 50 years or so back the joint cracked and water leaked into the temple and hence it has been repaired by an arch of bricks on the roof over the *antarala*. This is the only place where brick has been used. Similarly the temple of Pārvati also appears to be a subsequent addition as this temple as well as the image of Pārvati shows. Whereas the images of Ganes and Kārtik are made of ordinary sandstone and are not—more particularly the image of Ganes—so graceful, the image of Pārvati is carved of black chlorite and is of very beautiful workmanship. This latter temple is not also symmetrically situated or constructed with the *parswadeulas* of Ganes and Kārtik. Possibly it has been subsequently substituted for the originally existing one for it is not probable that there was no *parswadeula* on the north although there are two on the west and south. The people of the locality cannot say as to who built the temple. On the south of the temple are the signs of an old silted up tank which is now known as “Guā gaḍ”. Possibly reference is made to this in stanza 19 of the inscription.

The most important thing regarding this temple are however the two inscriptions in it, one small one on a small stone post over which is carved a *Śivalingam* situated within the compound below the compound wall on the south side and

the other a *praśasti* of king Vaidyanāth the builder, is inscribed on a black stone slab embedded on the eastern external wall of the Jagamohan on the south of the entrance door. The smaller inscription has by now been completely obliterated by the action of wind and weather to which it is constantly exposed. The other one which is sunken into the body of the temple is better preserved. The stone slab is fixed at a height of about 30 inches from the floor of the *mandap*. The size of the stone slab is 32" x 22" and the inscription contains 30 lines constituting 25 *slokas* in different metres as noted below :—

Śārdūlāa vikrīḍita—1st, 2nd, 6th to 9th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd to 24th ;

Vasantatilakā—3rd and 11th ;

Praharṣaṇī—4th ;

Anustubh—5th ;

Rathoddhatā—10th ;

Sragdharā—12th, 17th, 18th, and 25th (last) ;

Mālinī—14th ;

Mandākrāntā—15th, and ;

Śikharinī—21st ;

The letters are $\frac{1}{2}$ " high and are quite legible.

The inscription shows that Garuda, (stanza 3 देव विरितिप्रथितो द्विजातिः) a Brahman by caste of Kāśyapa gotra established a separate kingdom of his own at Kākodarapur-Bhujangam-puri of the *praśasti*—some 10 miles to the north of Niali. From Garuḍa was born Mādhav from him king Hāray and king Vaidyanāth of high battle fame (प्रभूतसमराकूपार खेलद्भुजः stanza 6) descended from him and thus Vaidyanāth was the great-grandson of Garuda, the founder of the line. That Brahman warriors were then found in Orissa and serving under the Gangā dynasty is also clear from the Chāteswar Temple inscription of Cuttack district.

From the *praśasti* it appears the temple was built by the great artist (सद्योपमेन कृतिना stanza 24) Sābana who too was a Brahman (द्विज साबन) and the *praśasti* was composed by one Udayana under orders of king Baidyanāth (stanza 23).

In stanza 21 mention is made of *maths* then existing at Naili. Now as already said there exists even now

a very old *math* there. For want of time I have not been able to inquire from there as to its origin or that of the Temple. Some clue may probably be obtained from there.

Date—It is a pity the inscription contains no dates and so we have to depend for it on circumstantial evidence only, both internal and external.

As already said the inscription refers to the construction of the temple (possibly the *jagamohan* and the *parvadeula* of *Pārvatī*), *maṇḍap* and compound wall. Thus it is most probably of the same age as those structures.

1. From the inscription it appears that King Vaidyanāth a Brahman king of Kasyapa Gotra who describes himself as BHUJANGAMAPURI BHUPA (stanza 8) had built the temple, more probably portions of it as said above.

2. In stanza 11 mention is made of NIALI SASON. Hence the inscription cannot be earlier than the establishment of Niali sason. However, unfortunately the residents of Niali cannot give any information regarding its establishment.

3. There is another inscription in the temple of Megheswar at Bhubaneswar which too was composed by one Udayana. I believe he was no other than the composer of the inscription under notice from the following facts.

The names are the same and there are many similar, nay, identical passages in the two inscriptions as noted below. For purposes of comparison I shall use the abbreviation M.P. for *Megheswar Prasasti* and S.P. for *Sobhaneswar Prasasti*. Both begin with 'नमः शिवाय' । Stanza 5 M.P.

"*Tasmāt puṇyāikarāṣe rabhabadrāhirāma nāma dhāma stū-
inā mārāmaḥ sāmāṇīte raparimitayasah pūrachandrodāyādriḥ.*"

Cf. sta. 17. S.P.

Sta. 11. M.P.

"*Yasyodyad bājirāḥi khurasikharabharakṣurnṇa bhūchakra
sarpāt—*"

Cf. sta. 7. S.P.

Sta. 18. M.P.

"*Udyaddigvijayārtha sādhanabidhau Gangānvaya kṣmā-
bhujām*"

Cf. sta. 9. S.P.

Sta. 19. M.P.

“*Lakṣmīdebyāḥ patirayamadho, nenachakre balidviṭ
Gopālasya priyasuhr̥dayaṁ sarbakāryye, ch'e'yuto, sau*”

Cf. sta. 4. S.P.

Sta. 25. M.P.

“*Yāsām netrāñchhala taralimā biśvabasyaikamantrah
Pādanyāsastrīhubanagati stambhanm śmbidhatte
Nr̥tyārambhe balayamanibhi nirmitā, yatnadīpā
stasmai dattāstripurabijayine tena tāstā mṛgāksyḥ*”.

Cf. sta. 18. S.P.

Sta. 29. M.P.

“*Ānandaikaniketanm nayanayoḥ śaśvanmanḥ kairab
Jyotsnaughḥ khalu biśvakarmanīpuna byāpāra baidagdhya-
bhūḥ*

*Gr̥ismagrāsabhayātibhīta janatā sautiry durgālayo
Māgh kīrttibijrmbhanasya jayinā prottambhito mandaph.*”

Cf. sta. 16. S.P.

Sta. 30. M.P.

“*Apāmsālāmālāḥ pathi pathi tadāgāḥ pratipurm
Pradīpāḥ sampurnnāḥ pratisuragrhm yasya bimalāḥ
Matkā bedadīnam dvijapurabihārāḥ pratidiśm
Bīrājante satrānyapicha paritḥ setunibahāḥ.*”

Cf. sta. 21. S.P.

Sta. 34. M.P.

“*Yābajjotnāsudhāmsu dharanī phanīpati yābadambhojalak-
ṣmyau*

*Yābad Yābachch Gaṅgā himadharanīdharau yābadebārṇṇa-
bormmī*

*Bāgarthau yābadasmīmschiramanubasato, dvaitarupena loke
Tābat prāsādakīrttīstribhubanakuhare rājatāmasya nitym.*”

Cf. sta. 24. S.P.

From the above it will appear that both these prasastis were composed by one and the same person—Udayana. Now the Megheswar prasasti shows that that temple was built by one king Swameswar, the maternal uncle of the famous Anangabhima Deva of Ganga dynasty, and mention is also made of Anangabhima Deva in that prasasti; so the Megheswar prasasti must have been composed not before the reign of

Anangabhima Deva and by comparison of the two prasastis the Sobhaneswar prasasti clearly appears to be more flowing and melodious than the other and it will not be wrong to hold that it was later than the Megheswar prasasti and written in an advanced age of the poet.

Now *Anangabhima Deva* is believed to have flourished in Orissa towards the last quarter of the 12th century. Hence the age of the Sobhaneswar prasasti must also be the last quarter of the 12th century or the 1st quarter of the 13th century composed as it is by the author of the Megheswar prasasti.

4. From paleographical evidence this appears probable.

As I took a photo of this inscription late in the evening it was not unfortunately very successful and so I could not append it to this article. However, it is clear that the letters in it particularly र (i), न (t), क, न्द (nd), म, न, क (kr), etc., bear close resemblance to those letters of the Ballabhendra Charter found in Assam, of the 12th century A.D. (E. I. Vol. V, p. 182.) Hence as to the date of the prasasti under notice that it belongs to the late 12th century or the early 13th century there can be little doubt.

5. In stanza 9 the epithet गंगान्वयेषिणः has possibly some reference to this line of kings and to no outsider enemy of the famous Gangā dynasty.

However some difficulty arises as to the relation between the Ganga dynasty and these Brahman kings. About the reign of *Anangabhima Deva* who completed the construction of the Jagannath temple and the subsequent king *Narasingha Deva* who built the famous temple of Konarak, the Ganga dynasty had attained the zenith of its glory. Then how to reconcile with this the passage in the prasasti under notice—'Gaṅgānvaya dveṣiṇām'? It is very unlikely that there could then be a rival dynasty reigning so near Puri who could even go so far as to seduce away Udayan the poet from the court of the Ganga dynasty to theirs (for otherwise it is improbable that the same poet served in two rival camps) and if it be inferred that this (the enmity between the Ganga dynasty and this line of kings) was a mere exag-

geration of facts and that these Brahman kings were either really some petty landlords or that their kingdom Bhujangampuri was outside Orissa, even then it has to be admitted that the famous and powerful Ganga dynasty suffered a petty landlord or an outsider to erect a temple within their kingdom and to seduce away one of their officials (Udayan) and to leave a permanent mark of this and of the fact that they were rivals of the famous Ganga dynasty in the *praśasti*, seems highly improbable. No further light can now be thrown on this point as to the then political condition of Orissa without further close investigation. However this does not disprove, in the face of the paleographical evidence, that the *praśasti* belongs to the late 12th or early 13th century. At least the use of this proud epithet shows that this line of kings was ruling when the renowned Gangā dynasty of Orissa was waning in its power for otherwise it was not possible that another line of kings would flourish at Kākōdarpur—Bhujangampuri of the *praśasti*—so near Puri, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack, the capitals of Orissa.

I now give below the text of the *praśasti*.

Text of the Praśasti.

लाइन १ ॐ नमः शिवायः ॥

शम्भो^१ स्तान्दव डम्बरोत्सव भूतः प्रेक्ष्यद्भुजामण्डली
बातोत्तिष्ठत समस्तसागर पयः पुरः स पायाज्जगत् ॥
यस्मिन् व्योमतलं प्रसर्पति . पुनःकल्पा

लाइन २ न्तकालभ्रम

त्रस्यद्भ्रमरहा (?) ससंभ्रम परौ^२ रंभाग्रनन्दः सुराः^३ ॥

खन्धोपेन्द्र बितर्कणा^४ दिबिबुधास्तार्क्षी रगेन्द्रादयो
यत्पुत्रत्व मवाप्य बिम्बसुवनाराध्याः त्रिलोकि^५ भू

लाइन ३ तः ॥

पायात्सिध सुरा सुराधिपशिरो रत्न प्रभा मङ्गरौ

१ शम्भु । २ परिरंभाग्र ।

३ सुरा ।

४ विकर्तनादि ।

५ त्रिलोकी भूतः ।

राजच्चारु सरोधि^१ कस्त्र पदाम्भोजः स बः कश्यपः ॥ २ ॥

गोत्रे पवित्रित जगत्त्रितये वभुव
तस्यात्र देववि

लाइन ४ रिति प्रथितो द्विजातिः ।

देवदेजेन्द्र चरयाम्बुज काननैक-

भङ्गः खवङ्ग तिलकः कलिकल्पवृक्षः ॥

सश्रीमान द्विजपति रच्युतः स्व मार्ग

द्रोपण प्रियः

लाइन ५ शतचारु चाटुकारः ॥

संधाता बलिरिष्ट संयमं यशोव्यो

संविधुः समजनि माधवः किलास्मात् ॥ ४ ॥

सत्कीर्त्ति कौमुदी पूरैर्द्यो तयन् जगती तलं

जातो ।

लाइन ६ स्माद्धा(?)रयः क्षीर नीरधेरिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ ५ ॥

पुण्येनाविरभुत् प्रभूत समरा कूपार खेलङ्गुज

स्तम्भाढम्बर मन्दर परमितः श्रीवैद्यनाथः कृतौ ।

यत्तेजो वडवानले

लाइन ७ न निहत प्रदेभि विराङ्गना

नेत्राम्बु प्रसाराम्बुधिर्यदधिकं वृद्ध स्तदत्राद्भुतः ॥ ६ ॥

व्यावणत्तुरगावली खरखुर क्षुण् क्षमा^२मण्डली

लौ^३ला भिन्न गजेन्द्र दन्त परिघ द्वेदाङ्कुरा

लाइन ८ न पातयन् ।

शत्रोक्षन्त बलोत्तमाङ्ग विगलत्वीलाण धारोत्करैः

सिक्ता^४ बर्द्धितवान् दिगन्त विततांयःकौर्त्तिवस्त्रिमिमां ॥ ७ ॥

यत्कौर्त्तिः शरदिन्दु मण्डल भिन्नानि ।

१ सरोविक (?) ।

२ क्षमा=क्षमा प्रथिवी (?) ।

३ लौला ।

४ सिक्ता ।

लाइन ९ र्यासपुञ्जोन्मलाः
श्रुत्वा मय्य (?) विलासिनी जनमुखोद्गीताः त्रिलोकस्तुताः ।
हृषाद्वर्ष कलौवनान्त बिगलद्वास्याम्बूपूर स्फूर
त्कासारे सुतबांभुजङ्गमपुरीभुपः सपू

लाइन १० जायते ॥ ८ ॥
चेतः कन्दलीत (०) कुचाङ्कुरकलौन्मीलत्कटाक्ष च्छटा
क्षेपाक्षेप मकारि येन नगरं गङ्गाव्यय देविणा० .
खेलत् केशरिदौत कानन शिखि क्रूराहि दृप्यती

लाइन ११ रि
कौडत्केकिहताक्का कान्ति विनदन्ति भवत् खल्विव (?) ॥ ९ ॥
निर्मला दिजयते प्रभास्फुरन्मित्रमण्डलमपङ्गिला मही
कोपि न स्थलति मागतीः भुतं यत्करे वितरणा

लाइन १२ भु वर्धति ॥ १० ॥
अस्त्युत्कले निखिल निर्जर चक्र मौलि
नीलोपला^१लि चय चूमित पाद पद्मः ।
नेयाली प्रासनगतः स शिव स्वयम्भूः
श्रीः शोभनेश्वर-इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां ॥ ११ ॥

लाइन १३ किं मेरुः किं हिमाद्रिः किमु चरमगिरिः किन्नकैलास श्रैलः
किं बिन्ध्यः किं महेन्द्रः किमु निघघरः^२ (?) किं
सपूर्वाचलो वा ।

इत्थं (?) मर्षन्ति हृषात् पथि पथिक जनाः यं सुदूरा

लाइन १४ दुदारः
प्रासादः सोयमत्र त्रिपुर विजयिनस्तस्य तेन प्रचक्रे ॥ १२ ॥
अस्मिन् पुण्यवता विनिर्मिततनौ^३ ग्राबोत्करैर्दानिना
विश्रन्तप्ययता^४ महीमति भृतः केवानभूम

१ पुण्यापते ।

२ निलोत्पलालि ।

३ One letter has probably been dropped here.

४ तनू=चुद्र (?) ।

५ तापयता ? ।

लाइन १५ षडले ।

शैलाः केवलमेवटङ्कित शिरोभागाः परंखिविताः

तेषां रोहण पर्वितो (६) घौ (त्य ?) गमनाभावात्पुन-

खोन्नतः^१ ॥ १३ ॥

कनककलस मौलि न्यस्त विम्बे मृगाङ्गे

स्फुरती ।

लाइन १६ रजनौ मध्ये कल्पय त्वेष लोकः ।

स्तटौकघटित पात्रासक्तदूर्वा प्रवालैः

शिवमृहमि (?) हृदेवादातुमर्घ (०) पृष्ठताः ॥ १४ ॥

स्मारं स्मारं चिर विरहितां पार्वती मङ्गदीया (?)

ज्ञानारत्न स्फुरितबलयां सम्बमानालकान्तां ।

लाइन १७ रम्यादस्मा दितत तुह्यौन स्तोममीशोनु नेतुं

कैलासा त्रिं व्रजति यदि वा बारमेकं कदाचित् ॥ १५ ॥

आनंदै

लाइन १८ कनिकेतनं नयनयोः क्षित्ताङ्गरोन्मीलन (०)

स्याय (?) त्थान्द्र सुर्धेक धाम रसना स्तोत्रैक पात्रं सुविः

शैत्यं नाम यदस्ति विश्वसुबने तन् मन्दिरं आभ्यतां

पांथानांश्च

लाइन १९ मनुत्तये पूरजितः सो मे करोन्मण्डपं ॥ १६ ॥

उच्चैरावाललक्ष्मीः सुकृतविटपिनः (?) स्वर्गसोपानमार्गः

सेतुः संसार सिन्धो रतिविशद यशः पूरचन्द्रोदयार्द्रोः ॥

लाइन २० पाषाणैश्चन्द्रकान्तोपलक्षकल निभैर्नौर्मंभे अंलिहायः

प्राकारस्तेनशम्भोः कलिकलुषमहारण्यदावानलेन ॥ १७ ॥

पौयूषंमधुराधरे नयनयोः प्रान्ते

लाइन २१ च यासां स्मरः^२

कर्म स्तम्भन मोहनादि सुदृशां वक्त्रे नितम्बादिषु

उद्यद्भयं वस्तु जातमखिलं भुष्यं यदङ्गाश्रितं
ता स्ता स्तेन विडम्बिताम्बर चरौ रूपाः शिवाया

लाइन २२ पिताः ॥ १८ ॥

गाम्भीर्यादि^१ गुणा न्यौतोपि जलधिः क्षारो विद्यायाम्बरं
वक्रा खर्गधूनि मुजङ्ग सुवनं याता जगत्याविनी
अप्यच्छं खलु सार्वभौम करिणो निर्यन्म दैर्मा

लाइन २३ नसं

दूष्टं तेन शिवायखात सरसः कोनाम घत्ते (अ) तुलां ॥ १९ ॥
उत्कर्ण कुल^२ कोकिला मदकलौद्रौत स्फुर तपश्चम
ता (?) नोद्दौपक भट्क निखनलसदौणा कणोल्लासि

लाइन २४ तं ।

नृत्यत्कोकि विनिर्मितं पशुपतेरुद्यान मेतेनत
तुङ्गातं वि^३धाति तस्य पूरतोभक्त्या महत्या भ्रवं ॥ २० ॥
क्वचिद्देवे^४ दीपाः क्वचिदपि तडागाः क्वचिदमा
मठाः पूजाक्वा

लाइन २५ पि क्वचिदपितथा मण्डप चयाः ।

प्रपाः क्वापि क्वापि प्रति पद मुदाराः क्षितिरूहो
विभान्तौष्माचक्रो जलधि बलवे यस्य परितः ॥ २१ ॥
आचारे परमेष्ठिवत् कविस

लाइन २६ मोनौतौ च प्रौवागमे

नन्दौव श्रुतिमार्गतो गुरु निभः सप्ताध्वरौदौक्षितः ।
साक्षाद व्याकरणे स पाणिनि मुनिन्यात्रे (अ) क्षपादोपमः
यत्यस्म द्भवनं कृतं सु क्वातिना

लाइन २७ विष्णोर्भवानिपतेः ॥ २२ ॥

नेत्रानन्द जल प्रखाल सरणिं कलूदीप (?) शुक्तिका
स्वात्मभो लहरौ मन (:) कुमुदिनौ चैतन्य चन्द्र त्विषं ॥
सुदर्जान्ताण्डव पण्डि तां कवि सभा कण्ठावल

१ गाम्भीर्यादि ।

२ उत्कर्णकुलकोकिला ।

३ विद्धाति letter द has been dropped.

४ क्वचिद्देवे (?) ।

लाइन २८ म्बिअ^१जं

घीरेन्द्रोदयनः प्रशस्तिं मतुलां तत्प्रेरितस्त्रिजिवान् ॥ २३ ॥

प्रज्ञासुन्दरमन्दिरं कुलगृहं नीतेः कला सम्पदा

मेकंधाम च धर्मं नर्मं सदनं सुतो द्विजसावनः ।

ते

लाइन २९ नारोप्यमयोपमेन कृतिना श्री वैद्यनाथा ज्ञया

साङ्गोपाङ्गमनङ्गं शासनं गृहं लीलाभिरूतम्भितं ॥ २४ ॥

यावच्चन्द्रे महः श्रीः^१स्मरहर शिरसि खड्गुनी यावदङ्गे

विष्णोर्ल

लाइन ३० क्षीं च यावत्त्रिदशपतिकरेक्लादिनी यावदस्ति

यावद्भोगौन्द्र पृष्ठे क्षितिरुदधिजलेयावदुल्लोल लीला

प्रासादाङ्गेलुटन्ति^२जगति विजयतां तावदेषा

प्रशस्तिः ॥ ० ॥ * * ॥ २५ ॥

Translation.

1. I bow to Śiva. May Śiva, by the storm raised by the quick movement of whose hands while playing the Damaru during Tāndava dance, the entire water of all the ocean was disturbed and thrown off, protect the world.—The Tāndava dance by which the Earth was so violently shaken that it gave the appearance as if the whole creation was coming to an end, so that Pārvati out of respect (out of fear? ससंभ्रमं) embraced him seeing which the gods became pleased (in hope that thereby Śiva might be pacified and might cease dancing so terribly?).

2. May Kasyap, by becoming whose sons Chandra, Upendra, Suryya and other gods, Garuda, Vāsuki and others are being worshipped by the entire world and who (Kasyap) is like the halo of the jewels on the heads of the kings of the Siddhas, Suras, Asuras,—may such Kasyap protect us.

3. In his (Kasyap's) gotra sacred in the three worlds was born one Brahman by name Garuda (देव वि) who was like a

solitary black bee in the forest of lotus-like feet of gods and Brahmins, who was the glory of his family and who was (very charitable) like the kalpabruksh in the Kali yuga.

4. From him was born Mādhava who did not deviate from his own path, who was liked by his subjects, was surrounded by hundreds of courtiers and who was like the Moon in the sea of prowess.

5. Overflowing the surface of earth by the beams of pious deeds was born king Haray from him (Mādhava) like the Moon from the sea of Khira.

6. Through meritorious deeds was born from him Sri Vaidyanāth the Great whose hands which were greater than the Mandar Mountain were playing with agility in numerous seas of battle. It is strange that although ordinarily fire born from the sea dries it up the fire of power and strength of Vaidyanāth only enhanced the bulk of the sea created by the tear drops of the widows of the numerous enemies killed by him (Vaidyanāth).

7, 8, and 9. Who by the quick stroke of the hoofs of his reinless chargers—which strokes disturbed the surface of the Earth,—broke down the tusks of the elephants of the enemies and grew the creeper of prowess by the flow of blood springing forth from the cut off heads of enemies and whose good deeds, bright as the beams of the autumn moon, are respected by the three worlds, being recited by numerous singing girls and in whose capital the tear drops born out of laughter have formed into a pond and who built the capital of the enemies of the Gangā dynasty adorned by the prominent busts and quick glances of young girls and also full of playful lions, bright wild fire, cruel serpent, proud and unruly boar, dancing peacocks eclipsing the brightness of the Sun, the roaring elephant, etc.—such is the king of Bhujangampuri respected (by all).

10. People do not deviate from their path in whose hands there is rainfall of the water of kindness (of this king). It is strange this rainfall does not make the earth muddy and in spite of this rainfall the Sun (सिद्धसिद्ध) sends out his rays brightly (or otherwise the friends सिद्धसिद्ध—of this king live happily).

11. There is in Utkaladesa in Neyali Sason the self-existing Śiva known throughout the world by the name of Śobhaneśwar

who is like the head of all gods and whose lotus-like feet are kissed by the black bees found in blue lotuses.

12. The great temple of this Śiva the conqueror of all the three worlds is compared from a great distance by the travellers passing on the way, to the Meru Mounts, the Himalayas, the mountain where the sun sets, the Kailas, the Vindyas, the Mahendra, or the mount where the sun rises.

13. There are various high hills upon the earth which fall and rise in height but none of these mountains throughout the world can be compared with this tall temple built by this pious, charitable and world conquering king.

14. While at night the shadow of the moon is reflected in the gold *kalas* (कलश) of the temple people think as if the gods are engaged in this temple in worshipping Śiva with utensils of flint, powdered wheat, *durbā* grass, and pearls, etc.

15. Śiva constantly remembering long separated Pārvati whose wrist is decorated with various ornaments with many precious stones and whose forehead is adorned with long *Alakā*, if he goes out from this beautiful temple to Kailas mountain to adore her that is only very seldom (because this temple is so very beautiful and has charmed him so much?).

16. For removing the exhaustion of tired pedestrians this king Vaidyanāth built in front of Śiva a mandap which is the abode of pleasure for the eyes; the only storehouse of nectar; the only object of praise for the tongue throughout the world and the very coolness itself existing in the world.

17. By that king who was like the wild fire unto the sins of Kali yuga was built with stone blocks like *chandrakānt* stones the very high compound wall which reached the skies in height; was like the road to the heavens; like a bridge for this world-sea and like the mountain for the rise of the moon of prowess.

18. By him were offered to Śiva beautiful damsels (Devadasis?) like the fairies of heaven in whose sweet lips there was nectar; in the ends of whose eyes was cupid; in whose mouth and waist and other parts of the body were *stambhan*, *mohan* and other charms and whose persons were decorated with various ornaments.

19. Although the ocean has gravity and other qualities

they are marred by its being saline; the heavenly Ganges has the defect of flowing into the nether worlds; the lake of Mánasa although so famous has been polluted by the mixture in it of the *Mada* water of Sarvabhaum (the elephant of the north) and so none of them can stand comparison with the tank dug by Śiva (near the temple?).

20. This king also established out of reverence a garden for Śiva which was resounded with the sweet notes of cuckoo, the *Vina*-like note of black bee and which was also full of dancing peacocks.

21. Around this temple at places there were tanks, elsewhere *mathas*, somewhere *mandapas* and at other places houses for the supply of drinking water or rows of trees up till the horizon and the sea.

22. This king who was like Brahmā in *āchār* (discipline?), in *niti* like Śukra, in observing śaivait rites like Nandi, in erudition like Brhaspati, who had performed seven sacrifices (*jajnas*), who was like Panini himself in matters grammatical and like Kanāda in reasoning, built this temple of Vishnu and Śiva.

23. The *praśasti* which is like a channel for the flow of the tear drops dripping through pleasure, like the water of the star named Swati unto impure oyster (for formation of precious pearl), like the moon beam of intelligence for the development of the *kumud* buds of mind, and like a garland on the neck of wise men in an assembly of poets, was composed by Udayan the wise under his (Vaidyanath) orders.

24. This beautiful temple of Śiva the conqueror of cupid which is like the storehouse of all art and the play ground of dharma was constructed with ease by the late Savan by caste a Brahman who was a great artist like Maya of old.

25. So long as there are radiance in the moon, the heavenly Ganges on the head of Siva, Laksmi on the lap of Visnu, thunderbolt in the arms of the king of gods, the earth on the head of Vāsuki, the display of waves in the sea, may this *praśasti* decorating this temple continue to exist.

NOTES

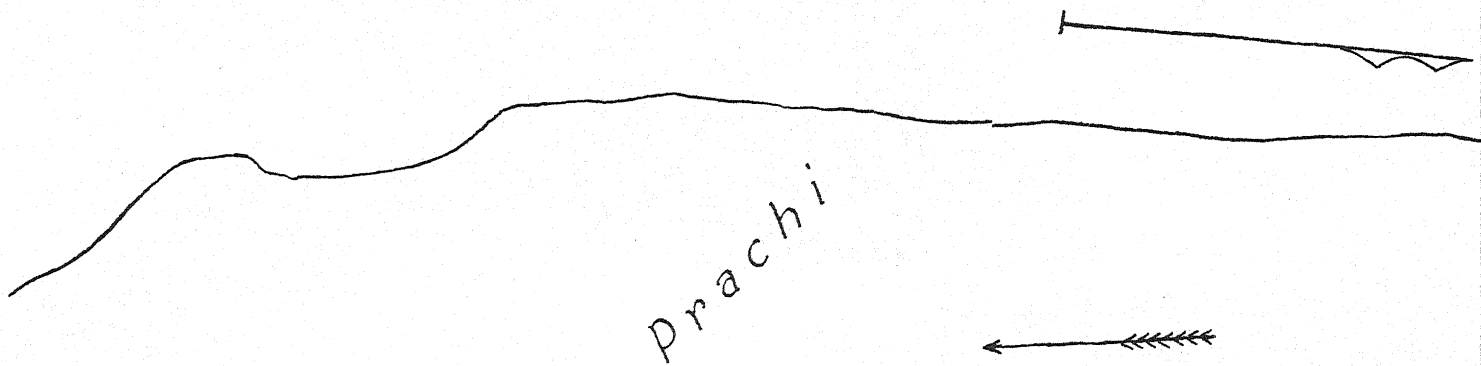
Stanza 4—King Mādhava was born of Garuda (देववि) the founder of this dynasty. Some 4 miles to the east of Niali is a village named Mādhava where there is another important temple of Mādhavānanda—a Viṣṇu temple. It is however found that the style of construction in both the temples of Śobhaneś-

and Mādhavānanda are somewhat similar, although the temple of Madhavānanda is bigger than that of Śobhaneśwar and there are no Parswadeulas at Madhava and new images of Nṛsiṅgh, Tribikram, and Barāha have been placed in the niches of the main temple in recent years. People cannot say if there were no Parswadevatas from before. Some say the temple of Madhavānanda was built by Anangabhīm Deva of Gangā dynasty. It might be it was really built by this king Madhava: of course the Śobhaneśwar prasasti is silent over that. The top portion of the original main temple at Madhava has long broken down and what we find now is a subsequent structure. Now, there is placed an iron wheel (चक्र) at the top of the main temple but originally there was a stone wheel there which has been displaced when the biman gave way and is now preserved inside the temple.

Stanza 8—BHUJANGAMAPURI—I have already referred to this. There is a village named KAKODARPUR some ten miles to the north of Niali. It is probable it was here that these Brahman kings were reigning. Of course no relics are now found there in this village except a big silted up tank in the adjoining village of Jaganathpur and an old stone built temple of Dadhibaman Jiu some two or three miles to the north of Kakodarpur in village Kaunrpur where also are found some well carved images. People cannot also say who built this latter temple of Dadhibaman Jiu. This temple is now in a half dilapidated condition and the deity is now placed in the frontal mukhasali with straw thatched roof for fear of the main temple ever collapsing.

Stanza 9—गंगान्वयदेविणां. I have already made my observations on this.

Stanza 18. I think there is some reference to a system of *Devadasis*, probably then obtaining in the temple of Śobhaneś-



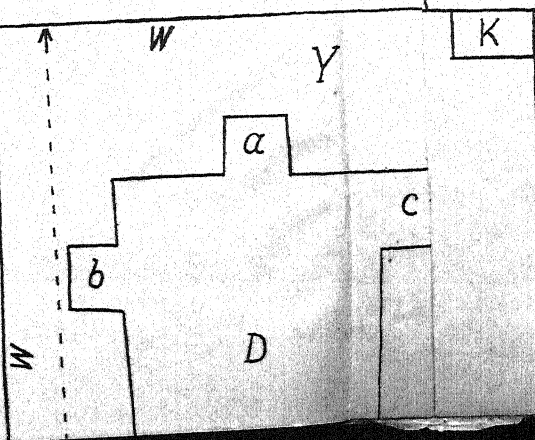
River

prachi

waste land

ted up Tank

waste land



VI.—Sher Shah's Revenue System

By Prof. Paramatma Saran

In the whole range of Muslim rule in India Sher Shah was perhaps the most brilliant among administrative geniuses. Flashing like a meteor in the firmament of Mediæval Indian history, for a period which was all too short, he has still left a lasting stamp of his skill on every conceivable branch of administration. That history has not yet done full justice to him is partly due to the paucity of materials for a full account of all that he achieved. It should not, however, be understood that historians have failed to notice the greatness of this man. Practically all pioneers in the study of modern Indian history have bestowed unstinted praise upon him in highly glowing terms, and at least one of them was so deeply impressed as to confess that 'It is impossible to avoid the observation, that no government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan.' (Keene in "Turks in India," p. 42). This universal recognition notwithstanding, until the end of the last decade of our century, when Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo's monograph on Sher Shah was published, no special study of this great man was attempted by any scholar. Recently, however, some aspects of his administration have been critically studied and have occasioned sharp differences of opinion. Among these his revenue system—as highly efficient as any other department of his administration—is perhaps the most controversial of all. The present paper is an attempt to examine the different views held on this subject.

Prof. Qanungo and Mr. Moreland are the two scholars, who hold opposite views on almost all the vital points connected with Sher Shah's revenue administration, the conclusions of the former having been challenged by the latter who has made a special study of revenue systems of Moslem India.¹

¹ *Vide* 'Agrarian System of Moslem India,' pp. 68-78; and J.R.A.S. for 1926. 447 et seq.

The cause of these differences of opinion is that nothing like an adequate account of Sher Shah's fiscal institutions has been left by any authority. Such brief notices as are found interspersed in the narratives, being too short, lend themselves to different interpretations in the hands of subtle scholars. The main source of Sher Shah's history, from which practically all other chronicles derive, is Abbas Sarvāni's *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, of which the few extant texts differ in several places. But it is a matter for some satisfaction that in their account of the fiscal measures of Sher Shah they all agree on the whole, excepting certain ineffective points.

Before entering upon an examination of the actual problem in hand it will be well to state the main questions connected with it, *viz.*, (1) The mode of assessment, (2) The form of payment, and (3) The proportion or amount of the state share. These three questions in their several bearings should be separately studied in respect of the two periods of Sher Shah's administration, *viz.*, the period of his governorship of his father's Jagir, and second, the period of his kingship.

Now the question is what was the mode of assessment adopted by Sher Shah, or to be more correct, Farid, when he was entrusted with the administration of Sehasram and Khawaspur parganas by his father. There are three methods of assessment which have been found to obtain in India since ancient times, *viz.*, (1) Sharing, (2) compounding, and (3) measurement. In sharing the basis was the quantity of the produce reaped, *i.e.*, the gross produce, which was divided into several equal shares one of which belonged to the King. This then might be converted into cash by being sold away on the spot; but its main point is that it indicated a certain definite portion of the gross produce. (2) Compounding, in the words of Mr. Moreland, was the system under which 'a peasant compounded for his liability to the king by a fixed payment for leave to occupy a certain area and grow whatever crops he chose'.¹ (3) Measurement was based on the area sown,

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 449. Note: The Compounding system was originally very much different from this, as I shall show in the course of this paper.

a charge of a certain weight of each kind of grain, or its equivalent in cash was made on each unit of area sown, and the assessment for the year was complete when the crop areas had been measured, though in practice it was found necessary to make allowances in cases where the crop failed¹. Mr. Moreland is of opinion that the first and third of these systems, *i.e.*, sharing and measurement are Hindu systems coming down from ancient times, but the second one, *i.e.*, compounding, cannot be traced before Aurangzeb's time, 'but it may be much older'. But there is a word which occurs in a passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, a correct interpretation of which will prove that the system of 'compounding' also existed, at any rate, in early Musalman times. This word is *Muqtei* (مقطعی) and is regarded by Moreland as of doubtful meaning. The passage in question is as follows²:—

..... ” و در زمان شیر خان و سلیم خان که هندوستان از غله بخشی و مقطعی بظط آمد بهمین گز پیمودند“

and here is Jarret's translation of it: 'Sher Khan and Salim Khan, under whom Hindustan was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment, in measuring land used this gaz³. Thus Jarret renders Moreland's doubtful word 'Muqtei,' as 'apportionment,' *i.e.*, assignment of shares due to the parties concerned. The word مقطعی is derived from qitaā (ق-ط-ع = قطع), meaning, 'a portion' or 'to divide into portions'. Now this word exactly signifies a system of 'compounding' which should have prevailed side by side with 'sharing' before Sher Shah superseded them both with 'measurement.' We have seen Moreland's definition of the 'Compounding system' as a sort of compromise made by the peasant with the ruler to make a fixed payment (presumably cash) as consideration for being allowed to grow crops on a certain area of land. But payment in cash must have been the

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 449.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian Text, Published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1893; Book I. p. 206; in the account of the *Ain-i-Gaz*.

³ Jarret's Tr. of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, II., 61.

second stage in the growth of the compounding system, and yet it should have been only permissive and not compulsory, for we find that what I call the 'first stage' of the system was prevailing till very recently in some parts of the country. This first stage was that the Patwari or the Patel used to go to the peasant at the time when his crop was ready for harvesting, and making an estimate of the expected amount of produce offered to fix the government share. In this transaction the Government entered into a sort of contract with the peasant to allow him to cultivate a certain piece of land in consideration for a certain portion of his produce. If the peasant agreed the contract was complete. If not then some other method was resorted to. This system was known as Mukāta, and was prevalent in the Kota State till the end of the first decade of this century.

So of the three systems which have simultaneously existed in many parts of the country since the Musalman times, Mukata was the name still used for what was indisputably a system of compounding. It is also evident that Makata is only a simplified colloquial form of Muqataâ (مُقَاتَا) which means, a thing given on contract, or a person entering into a contract. All these words, Muqtei, Muqtea, etc., are derived from the same root (see above p. 4) and must have been used in slightly varied forms in different parts of the country. Thus connecting up these facts we find that Muqtei was a system of compounding, in which the peasant agreed to pay a certain amount of his produce to the king. The custom of compounding by cash payment must have been of a later growth wherever the parties thought it to be more convenient. Thus the system of 'Muqtei' incidentally referred to in the Ain as having been replaced by measurement in the time of Sher Shah and Salim Shah, indicates none other than the very system of compounding which, Mr. Moreland says, was working side by side with the other two between Benares and Delhi when the British Administration began¹. On these grounds, Moreland's surmise that the word might indicate a system of 'Farming' seems to be baseless.

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926., p. 449.

As a likely support of his suggestion Mr. Moreland says that 'derivatives from the same root are applied in some cases to assignment, in others to Farming¹ but he does not give any illustrations. Nor do I find any derivative of the same root being even remotely applicable to 'Farming' or Assigning'.

I turn now to the main points of dispute, which may be stated thus: (1) Did Farid give to the peasants their choice as to the system on which the demand should be made, that is to say, as to the method of assessment, or did he give them choice only as to the mode of payment? (2) whether or not his establishing direct relations with the ryot had any significance?

Relying on the authority of Abbas Sarwani whose facts he accepts as correct, Mr. Moreland asserts that 'Farid....gave the peasants their choice as to the method of assessment'². The reading, however, in Elliot's Translation of Abbas³ is, ".....turning to the peasantry, he said:—'This day I give you your choice as to the *mode of payment*. Do whatever is most advantageous to you in every possible way'. Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent⁴, others preferred payment in kind (Kismat-i-ghalla).—Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, etc." Prof. Qanungo's manuscript has also the same wordings as Elliot's. On page 18 of his 'Sher Shah' he writes: "Next he turned to the peasants and told them to make their choice, as to whether they should *pay rent in cash or kind*. He meant to make a settlement direct with the ryot and not through the muqaddams. Abbas says (Abbas Sarwani, MS. 28), "Some of the cultivators agreed to Zarib, (i.e., fixing of rent by measuring the area under cultivation; a money commutation is here meant). Others agreed to an actual division of crops. Farid took written Kabuliyats signed by the raiyats and fixed the rate of payment

¹ The Agrarian System of Moslem India, by W. H. Moreland, pp. 73, 74.

² J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 450; also his 'Agrarian system of Moslem India', pp. 69 and 71.

³ Elliot IV. 313.

⁴ With regard to this Elliot in a foot-note on the same page notes: 'In two copies jarib, in one, *patiā-Kabuliyat*.'

for measuring, the remuneration of the tax-gatherers and the daily allowance of the tax-gatherers."

Now the words quoted above do not leave any room for ambiguity and in the face of their preciseness, it is really incomprehensible how Mr. Moreland could discover in them an option as to the method of assessment, instead of the mode of payment. But having presumed the offer to relate to an option for the mode of assessment he is led into wrongly interpreting the answer that was given by the peasants or by the headmen on their behalf. The reason of this misinterpretation is clear: it is the use of the words *zarib* in some mss. (while in others *Patta-Qabuliat* is used), and *Qismat-i-Ghalla*, in a loose way. Elliot's rendering of these two words, as we have seen above, is absolutely clear and admits of no ambiguity. It runs thus: some asked for written agreements for 'a fixed money payment', and others preferred '*payment in kind*'. Now *zarib* of course came to bear, later in Akbar's time, the technical sense of 'measurement', or 'area', etc., but because some manuscripts have *patta-qabuliat* in place of *jarib*, it appears that either it has been wrongly inserted in some copies or more probably the words were at that time loosely used to convey the same sense. And it was only in Akbar's time, I think, that *jarib* became restricted to a strictly technical sense. Before that it was used like an ordinary word. Before I advance further reasons in support of this interpretation, I should like to point out that Prof. Qanungo has confused the interpretation of the word '*Zarib*' which occurs in his ms., but Farid's offer of an option as to the mode of payment and not that of assessment being in absolutely unmistakable words, has guided him ultimately to the right conclusion. Now my further reasons for my interpretation are: first, that the offer of Farid to the cultivators being so clear and unmistakable there could have been no sense in their reply if it had referred to something else than the question asked. Secondly, we know that when the peasant's choice was made, Farid fixed the fees for measurers or surveyers, and tax-collectors, and the latter's daily rations.¹ There is no clue in this of any other except the

¹ (Prof. Qanungo's ms., p. 28.)

system of measurement, and commissions are fixed for the different functionaries under that system. Had the other system, *viz.*, sharing also been allowed, he would surely have fixed the commission of the functionaries concerned. But here again curiously enough Mr. Moreland discovers something which does not exist in any of the original texts. He says 'in order to prevent oppression by the headmen, the fees chargeable under each system were fixed'. It is difficult to see how the words I have quoted above can be interpreted to refer to the systems of assessment. Fixing the fees for measurers and tax-gatherers is quite clear. It can never imply the two systems of assessment. Thirdly, Mr. Moreland himself admits that before Sher Shah's time two systems of assessment were working, *viz.*, 'ghalla bakshi', *i.e.*, 'sharing' and 'muktei', the meaning of which is not clear to him, but for which he gives 'farming' as a probable interpretation. Why then did Farid not offer them an option of this third system also? Nor does he give the remotest indication that he had resolved to suppress one of the two systems then prevailing. Fourthly, Mr. Moreland in the course of his arguments, further on, opines that 'Farid himself can have had no very decided opinion at the outset' and builds on this supposition conclusions which are unwarranted, *e.g.*, that during the preceding six centuries before Sher Shah 'there was, in practice, not very much to choose between sharing and measurement....'¹ For one thing, the opinion that Farid could not have had any decided opinion himself, at this time, far from supporting Mr. Moreland's theory, goes against him inasmuch as how could he, if he were ignorant of the comparative usefulness or otherwise of the two systems, drop one of them without giving it a fair trial. To draw from this the conclusion that in practice there was not very much to choose between the two systems of sharing and measurement, during the preceding six centuries, is fallacious. The system of 'measurement' which had been reintroduced by Ala-Uddin-Khilji had long been discontinued, and the raiyats of Sher Shah's time could not possibly have

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 451.

had the remotest idea of how it should work. Mr. Moreland makes Farid take up the position of asking the peasants to choose between two things, one of which they had never seen, and hence he himself stumbles into error. It is strange that he passes a judgment upon the working of a system of assessment at a period in which it was not even in existence, at least in the Jagir of Sher Shah. Fifthly, while Farid, who was admittedly possessed of a keen and powerful observation and was so well equipped by his education and training, was not yet able to make up his mind, how could he expect the peasants to know better than himself. In determining this problem a study of the psychology of Farid will be of great help. He was conscious of his superiority of intellect over all his contemporaries, much more so, over the unsophisticated peasantry, and his sole aim was the improvement of the prosperity of the peasants, and thereby that of the state. Such a person would never throw open to the option of the simple-minded ryot anything of a dubious character, such as the systems of assessment were. He would only give them an option which would afford them some facility, for instance, in the mode of payment. He knew thoroughly well the oppressions that the headmen committed upon the ryots. He therefore fixed the fees chargeable for measuring, etc., and strongly admonished them not to charge a pie more under pain of very severe punishment. All these facts go to prove that he was wide awake to the defects of the previous systems of assessment which left to the official underlings considerable loopholes to oppress the ryots. An exile at Jaunpur, he was not blind to the numerous shortcomings that filled the administration of his father. On the contrary, he had made a careful study of them as also of their causes, and must have been a painful on-looker so long as he had not the power to remedy them. This is amply borne out by the conversation he had with Hasan at the time of parting. In telling his father about the oppression of the Mukkaddams he gave clear indication of his acquaintance with the working of the existing systems of assessment and had made up his mind to put an end to them. Being thus resolved to introduce the system of measurement,

he had no need to discuss it with the peasants. He proceeded straight to the next question, *viz.*, the mode of payment, in which by giving them option he could facilitate their work. On these grounds I hold that (1) Sher Shah from the very first, even in his administration of the Jagir of his father, adopted the system of measurement in assessment of land revenue, and secondly, that he offered to the peasants option in the mode of payment and not in the method of assessment.

Our second question in this connection was whether or not the direct connection established by Farid with his ryots without the mediation of the headmen had any significance. In regard to this matter I entirely agree with Prof. Qanungo when he says: 'By this arrangement the Muqaddams were badly hit. . . . Their regime of tyranny came to an end. A direct connection between the ryot and Jagirdar having been established, both were freed from dependence on them.'¹ Elliot's ms., however, says that the choice was made by the headmen, and kabuliyat was taken from them. But Prof. Qanungo says², and justly, that this is opposed to the very spirit of Farid's reformation. His ms. has clearly the words: بدستخت قبولیت از رعیت نویسانده گرفت *i.e.*, he took kabuliats signed by the ryot. That Farid evinced an intense anxiety for the security and welfare of the peasantry and in order to save them from the oppressions of the Muqaddams, asked them to come to him straight if they had any complaint to make, shows positively how deeply he realised the need of establishing direct connection with them, and that this measure was not meaningless as Mr. Moreland makes it out to be³. He gives a twofold argument in support of his view: First, that the headmen occupied a dual position. True, that the headmen had a dual position;—and this may have been the reason of an indifferent use of the words peasant and headman, being made in the mss.—but they as well as the peasants had dealings with the Jagirdar in the capacity of ryots and not as intermediaries

¹ Sher Shah by K. R. Qanungo, pp. 18-19.

² *Ibid.*, foot-note, p. 18.

³ J.R.A.S., 1926, foot-note on p. 450.

for any other party. Secondly, Mr. Moreland says that 'the peasant's choice would in any case be declared by the headmen'. This would mean that in all dealings the headman was to act as the intermediary; but we know he called all the peasants and not the headmen alone and began a direct contract with them and plainly told them to deal directly with himself.

The above discussion precludes the necessity of any further consideration of the question as to the mode of payment. Mr. Moreland, having once fallen into error is unable to find authority for the view held by Qanungo, *viz.*, 'that Farid gave option to the peasant to pay rent either in cash or kind. Nothing can be said as to the amount of Farid's demand from the peasant at this time, there being no mention of it in any authority.

Now in respect of the second period of his administration when Farid becomes Sher Shah the King of Northern India, there is no difficulty about the first two questions. With the exception of Multan he introduced the measurement system all over his kingdom. Nor is there any reason to suspect that he should have here withheld from the ryots the option as to their mode of payment¹. We find a confirmation of this view in a sentence of Abul Fazal in the *Ain*. In the 'Ain of the classification of lands', etc. (*Ain XI* of Jarret's Tr. Vol. II) Abul Fazal says at the end, that the revenue levied by Sher Khan found acceptance² and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money.³ This is an account of the early measures of Akbar in

¹ There is also no mention of the fees of measurers and tax collectors, etc., at this time. Prof. Qanungo's surmise that all such items should have been included within the land revenue, seems to be quite reasonable. Similar was the case in Akbar's system, which was more or less a copy of Sher Shah.

² Jarret (II, p. 63) has wrongly translated these words (پزیرش یافت) as 'generally obtained', which should be 'found acceptance'.

³ *Ain*. N. K. Press Lucknow Text, p. 207. Here is the sentence referred to: در بعضی که شیرخان برگرفته بود امروز در همه صوبها از و کمتر نشان ندهند پزیرش یافت و برای آسودگی سپاه و رعیت ارج بر سوخته زر باز خواست نمائند -

which he had adopted the system that had been established by Sher Shah and was still working. Its last clause indicates a modification that was made in the former system, *viz.*, that the value of the revenue was restricted to cash payment only for the convenience of the people concerned, thus showing that previously payment of revenue must have been made in cash as well as kind.

The last and most complicated question, *viz.*, the king's share, requires fuller notice. Prof. Qanungo contends that Sher Shah took one-fourth of the gross produce as land revenue, in support whereof he adduces these arguments¹: (1) "The Makhzan-i-Afghana says that Sher Shah wrote to Haibat Khan to take one-fourth of the produce of the land as Govt. revenue from the people of Multan without measuring the land" (Quoted in Elliot iv. 399, foot-note 1). (2) Abul Fazal writes: 'The Revenue levied by Ser Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment'. (Ain. ii. 63.)²

From the same writer we learn elsewhere that Akbar later on raised it to one-third (*ibid.*, p. 66). So it is evident that Sher Shah's demand must have been lower than that".

As regards the first argument, I agree with Mr. Moreland that Multan was the recipient of specially favourable treatment, and its case cannot be supposed to apply to the rest of the kingdom. The second argument of Qanungo also cannot hold water. He has quoted Jarret's translation of the Ain. But on referring to the text we find that it conveys a different sense from that of the translation. The passage in question has already been reproduced by me in a footnote above. Mr. Moreland gives a correct rendering of it: 'and the ray' (or *a* ray) which Sher Khan had fixed (and at the present day in all provinces less than that is not indicated), found acceptance....'³ Herein also I agree with Mr. Moreland that the word "that" refers to a schedule of Sher Shah's assessment rates, and hence it only means that the assessments

¹ Sher Shah, p. 373, foot-note.

² He refers to Jarret's Translation.

³ J.R.A.S., 1926, 453 and 455.

when the Ain was written were not less than Sher Shah's: 'they may therefore have been equal or greater and the passage cannot be used to prove that they were greater.' I go further and think that the text clearly says that the ray' of Sher Shah found acceptance. (پیش یافت) Hence whatever rates were prevailing at that time and were approved by the Emperor were those which had come down from Sher Shah's time. Hence Akbar's rates of this period were equal to those of Sher Shah. Prof. Qanungo's statement that Akbar raised the assessment to one-third later, is to be found neither in Jarret's translation on page 66, nor in the Text.

Again in Elliot's Abbas we find that Sher Shah "ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator and half a share to the Muqaddam; and fix the assessment with regard to the kind of grain".¹ This passage does not occur in Prof. Qanungo's ms., nor in those seen by Moreland. It seems, however, to give the clue to the rate of assessment. The instruction to the collectors is that they should give one share to the cultivator and half a share to the Muqaddam, presumably as government share. It cannot mean the share of the Muqaddam himself. But even if we discredit the authority of this doubtful passage, a confirmation of this view which I hold, in agreement with Mr. Moreland, is contained in the passage of the Ain quoted above. All that remains to do is to elucidate the sense and application of the word ray' (ربعی) used in this passage. It means 'cultivation', or 'the income accruing from cultivation', or the 'tax on cultivation.'² In the Ain immediately after saying that 'the ray' (ربعی) fixed by Sher Khanetc.' Abul Fazal gives several tables or schedules of the assessment rates. The headings of these schedules are, e.g., ربعی ربع پولج (i.e., Ray' of the Rabi crop

¹ Elliot IV, p. 413-14.

² Ain. Lucknow Text. 207; in the marginal note the meaning of ray, (ربعی) is given thus: *مزروعات و آنچه از زراعت حاصل شود و محصول (ربعی) زراعت.*

of Polaj land) ¹ ربيع خريفى (i.e., ray' for Kharif crop) ² and so on. This clearly shows that these ray's or schedules are those referred to by him and which have come down from Sher's time. The word ray' also occurs in some other places in the Ain where it bears a different meaning according to the context, e.g., ربيع جنس و ارج آن برگرفته و دستور قرار دادى ³ i.e., 'and taking the gross produce and estimating its value, they determined the rates of collection.....' ⁴

Thus this passage helps us to know that Sher Shah used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue. But there is another difficulty which arises out of this. These schedules, based as they were on the three different productivities of the land, were soon found to be unworkable for the kingdom of Akbar owing to the varying degrees of fertility of land in different provinces of the Empire. This failure to work them led to the so-called 10 year settlement of Todar Mall. Mr. Moreland suggests that the same difficulty should have arisen for Sher Shah on account of the cut and dry schedules of assessment rates. But I think these are given by Abul Fazal only as illustrations from the vestiges of a system which, while it was every year regularly adjusted to the needs of the situation by its masterly creator, should have become petrified during the chaos following his death. Mr. Moreland forgets that under Sher Shah the measurements were made every year and the revenue was assessed according to the product.

There is one more difficulty which confronts us if we presume these schedules to be Sher Shah's. Did Sher Shah also divide his land into four kinds and was Akbar's classification too a copy or a direct adoption of Sher Shah's? We have no authority to say so, but I think it is not unlikely that he did so.

¹ Lucknow Text Ain, p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

³ Ain. Lucknow Text, Book II, p. 2.

⁴ Jarret's Ain, II, p. 88.

VII.—Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism

By Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.

The sixth century B.C. in India was a period of doubts and discussions. Bloody sacrifices and Ahimsā, grossest superstitions and subtlest philosophies, strong doubts and ardent faiths all existed side by side. Wrangling was the great vice of the age and the philosophic mind of the country was rent into thousand speculations. The early Buddhist books refer to sixty-two varieties of hypothesis which the Buddha found existing when he began to preach. They may be summed up under the modern convenient terms of animism, polytheism, pantheism, and dualism.

An atmosphere like this was the most suitable soil for magical beliefs and superstitions. We, therefore, find that all forms of magic are referred to in the early Buddhistic works¹. The practice of Magic was a regular profession of some Samana-Brahmans. They not only practised magic but taught it to others as a useful art, and charged fees for tuition. They divined success or failure in life from certain marks on the human body. Auguries were much current, and magicians were approached by the credulous masses for the interpretations of prognostics, of dreams, and of omens, good or bad. Clothes and other articles gnawed by rats served as means of predicting the future. Spells were practised for preserving the body, for determining lucky sites, for protecting fields, for luck in war, and to secure good harvests. Magical practices to cure bites of snakes, scorpions or rats, and to counteract the effect of poison, were quite current. Wounds were warded off or healed by chanting certain formulas. The magicians pretended to possess the knowledge of the language of beasts, which was probably pressed into the service of foretelling fortune. The flight of hawks and the croaking of ravens were interpreted to possess

¹ Digha and Majjhim Nikayas. J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 197.

several indications. The eclipses of the sun and the moon, their being in conjunction or in opposition, as also the conjunction of planets were believed to influence the destinies of man and produce various results in the world. Predictions like the following were very common :—

“There will be an abundant rainfall, there will be a deficient rainfall, there will be an abundant harvest, there will be famine, there will be tranquillity, there will be disturbances, the season will be sickly, the season will be healthy.”

Very popular were the spells to procure prosperity or to cause adversity to others, to remove sterility, to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity, or deafness.

A form of what is now called mesmeric magic was also known. Oracular responses were obtained by the aid of a mirror or from a young girl, or from a god. The mirror is used even by the present day mesmerists and young boys and girls are hypnotised to serve as mediums.

Many a Sāman-Brāhmaṇa gained his livelihood by blessing fields, imparting virility, and causing impotency. A magician's services were requisitioned in choosing the site of a house or performing a house-warming. He gave lessons to the laity on the spells to be used when cleansing the mouth, and when bathing.

We have clear references also to beliefs in ghosts, goblins, evil spirits, and other supernatural beings meddling with man's affairs. Spells were practised to ward off their influences and schemes¹. Some of the spirits live on the earth, and some in the air. People stood in constant terror of them and appeased them by offerings².

The belief in the powers of magicians was widespread, shared even by kings and ministers. Once the following story came to the ears of Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha :—

“They say that in the city of Bhaddiya, which is in our territory, there dwells a house-holder named Mendaka. And his magical power is such that if he bathes

¹ Teviga Sutta Tr. In S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 196-200.

² Kulavagga. 1 and 2 Tr. by E. Fausboll in S.B.E., Vol. X.

his head, has his granary swept out, and sits outside by the door, a shower of grain will fall from the sky and fill the granary. Of his wife the magical power is such that if she sits down by a pint-pot of boiled rice and a dish of sauce and curry, she can serve a meal to the slaves and serving men; and as long as she does not get up, the food is not exhausted. Of the son the magical power is such that with only a purse of a thousand pieces of money he can pay six months' wages to the slaves and serving men; and as long as the purse is in his hand, the money is not exhausted. Of the daughter-in-law the magical power is such that if she sits down by a four bushel basket, she can give six months' rations of rice to the slaves and serving men, and as long as she does not get up, the rice is not exhausted. Of the slave the magical power is such that with one plough he can plough seven furrows at once"¹.

The story goes on to say that the King took it quite seriously and asked one of his ministers to go and find out the truth of it. The minister started and reached the magician Mendaka, who with other members of his family, gave a practical demonstration of his magical feats. The minister returned and related to the king all what he had seen.

The story, of course, cannot be a serious history, but even as a legend it reveals the popular beliefs in magic which had an access even to the royal courts.

The movement of the Buddha was an emphasis on an aspect of Hindu religion and morality. It was a revolt in the sense that all fruitless and endless discussions on God and soul were denounced as unable to help man in leading a good life. The Buddha protested equally against superstitions and metaphysics. His teaching essentially was: Do good and be good. The leader of such a movement cannot be expected to countenance the practice of any magic. This is why we find the Buddha preaching to his disciples that it was a low art to live by practising magic, or fortune-telling and teaching spells². But

¹ Mahavagga, vi. 34. 1-8. Tr. in H.O.S., Vol. 3, pp. 448-451.

² S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 196-200, also Kevaddha Sutta and Brahma Jala Sutta.

he is reported to believe in fairies, and miracles by highly evolved beings. Sometimes it is said, he himself caused miracles to win people to his faith.

When the chief minister of Magadha was building a fortress, the Blessed one, with his great and clear vision, surpassed that of ordinary men, saw thousands of fairies haunting the site and he predicted to Ananda as follows :—

“Among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pāṭali-putra, a centre for the inter-change of all kinds of wares. But dangers will hang over Pāṭali-putra, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension”¹.

The Buddha is reported to have once caused a miracle to win a Brāhmaṇa to his faith. The man came to the Blessed one and offered him some rice-milk, but the Buddha refused it saying that it was ill-gotten, whereupon the Brāhmaṇa threw the rice-milk into water. At once the rice-milk splashed, hissed and smoked in volumes, at which the Brāhmaṇa was extremely alarmed and fell at Bhagavat's feet². By the superstitious masses the Buddha was always regarded as a great magician. A super-human being, Hemavata Yakṣha, is reported to have approached the Buddha and listened to his discourse at length. At the conclusion he said :

“These ten hundred Yakṣhas, possessed of supernatural power and of fame, they all take refuge in thee, thou art our incomparable master”³.

As to how the popular beliefs creep into religion is illustrated by the fact that even in the earliest Buddhist texts the Buddha is reported to have a belief in the miracles connected with the life of an Arhata. Once he told his favourite disciple Ananda that a Sāmana, or a Brāhmaṇa of great power, who has his feelings or a god or an angel (devata) under his control could make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violent-

¹ Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta. Tr. by Rhys Davids in S.B.E., Vol. XI, page 18.

² Uruvagga. S. Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. X, page 14.

³ Uruvagga Hemavata Sutta Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. X, page 29.

ly; and that when a Bodhisatta descends into his mother's womb then is this earth made to quake, and tremble and is shaken violently¹. Similar miracles take place when the Bodhisatta quits his mother's womb or arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment or founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness or when he deliberately rejects the remainder of his life. We are told that whosoever places at the dagha of a Tathagata garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart, shall be profited and enjoy happiness².

The yogic practices for controlling the body before controlling the mind were the chief feature of the ascetic life in the Buddha's time. These self-torturing exercises which must have had useful and harmless beginning, were carried to exaggerated extremes and were believed to lead to marvellous results, both material and spiritual. The Buddha himself practised very austere yoga after his departure from home in quest of truth. While relating his life experiences, the Buddha said to Sari-putta :

"To such a pitch of asceticism have I gone that naked was I flouting life's decencies, licking my hands after meals, never heeding when folk called to me to come to stop, never accepting food brought to me before my rounds or cooked expressly for me, etc. My sole diet has been herbs gathered green, or grass or cowdung. I have plucked out the hair of my head, and of my beard. On my body I have accumulated the dirt and filth of years till it dropped off of itself even as the rank growths of years fall away from the stump of a tinduka tree"³.

The prevalent beliefs about these practices were that a person who could successfully go through such severe austerities becomes all-knowing and all-seeing and there was nothing beyond his ken or vision. Whether asleep or awake, whether

¹ Maha Parinibbana Sutta, Chap. III. 14-20. Tr. in S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 46-48.

² *Ibid.*, V. 26.

³ Maha Sinhanada Sutta in Dialogues of Buddha, Part I, pp. 53-54, Maha Saccaka Sutta: *Ibid.*, pp. 170-174.

walking or standing, such a person knew all that went on round him¹.

These self-tortures, as we know, did not lead the Buddha to truth. By personal experience he came to the conclusion that the middle path of avoiding both extreme self-tortures and extreme self-indulgence was the only right path. Yet curiously enough, though he disbelieved in yogic exercises, he is reported to believe in yogic powers. He only changed the cause, and retained the effect. If not he, at least his early followers who have ascribed it to him, believed that a Bodhisatta was capable of causing miracles and was in possession of supernatural powers which knew no physical impediments.

Once in course of his address to the Bikkhus is the Buddha reported to have delivered himself as follows :—

“An almsman who calms his heart within him, cultivates ecstasies, fosters insight, and perfects himself in inward detachment, can enjoy every form of psychic power, namely, from being one he can become many, from being many he can become one. He can be visible or invisible at will, and pass through fence or hill as if through air. He can pass in and out of the solid earth as if it were water, and walk on the waters’ unbroken surface as if it were the solid earth. Like a bird he can fly in the air and can even touch and handle the moon and the sun. He can hear both heavenly and human sounds, whether far or near, etc.”².

After his death, the Buddha, as the central figure of the system, soon became invested with supernatural and legendary attributes, and his counteracting influence having disappeared, magical beliefs and practices and superstitions began to go unchallenged. Magic invaded the realm of religion and popular beliefs came to be regarded as a part of Buddhism. An evidence of the prevalence of magical rites to secure health and happiness during the period when Buddhism was the state

¹ Dialogues of Buddha. I. 92-93.

² Akankheya Sutta, Tr. by Lord Chalmers in S.B.G., Vol. V, page 24, and also by Maxmuller in S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 212, 215.

religion is afforded by the Rock Edict IX of Aśoka. The great king says :

“ People perform various rites in sickness, at marriages, on the birth of sons, and on journey. Lucky rites should undoubtedly be performed but a rite of this kind bears little fruit.”

Remarking on this passage Dr. Bhandarkar¹ says that this points to the continuance of the worship of Yakṣhas, Chaityas, Gāndhārvas, Nāgas and so forth about whom we read so much in the Buddhist Pali Scriptures. Besides this, I think, it also shows that the streams of Sutra magic continued flowing during the reign of Asoka, because rites performed at marriages, on the birth of sons, and on journey must have been those described in the Sūtras.

As Buddhism extended its range and influence, and enjoyed princely patronage and ease, it lost its simple morality, agnostic idealism and became more metaphysical and ritualistic. Heresies and discords, schisms and differences cropped up, out of which grew Mahayana, a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background. It developed the supernatural side of Buddhism and its objective symbolism. It substituted good words for good deeds and thus appealed more powerfully to the multitude and secured ready popularity. The theistic tendencies led to the creation of metaphysical Buddhas and celestial Buddhas, and to the introduction of innumerable demons and deities, with attendant superstitions and sacerdotalism.

About 500 A.D. was imported into Buddhism the cult of Yoga, the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal spirit. Yoga was an ancient institution in India, and though the Buddha denounced its extreme and exaggerated forms, he attached much importance to the practice of abstract meditation. After the Buddha these practices relapsed into the Brahmanical cult of Yoga, and those who mastered this system were known as the Yogāchārya Buddhists. The adoption of Yoga meant the adoption of Tantrism which, by this time, had intermingled with it.

¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandurkar—Asoka.

About the end of the sixth century A.D., Tantrism began to dominate both Buddhism and Hinduism and introduced into these systems a legion of goddesses and fiendesses of wild, terrible form and malignant nature, who, when sufficiently appeased, bestowed supernatural powers on their followers. During the three or four succeeding centuries Buddhism became still more debased and deteriorated, and its mysticism became a "silly mummerly of unmeaning jargon and magic circles" dignified by the title of Mantrayan, or the spell vehicle¹.

In the tenth century A.D. Mahāyanism developed into the Kalacakra cult, which introduced the doctrine of demoniac Buddhas and came to be known as Vajrāyana, or the 'Thunderbolt-vehicle' and its followers were called 'the Vajrcaryas². The latter development of Vajrāyana into Nathism, Sahajiyism, Avadhutism, Chandalism, and Domism³ are more magical than religious.

In these later phases of Buddhism, the Mahāyanism, the Yogacara, the Kalachakra or the Vajrayana, we find a complete blend of religion and magic, faith and superstition. If religion was desired to be universally popular among the masses consisting not only of the Āryans and the enslaved aborigines, but also of the foreign elements like the Śakas, Kushans, and the Hūnas who were being assimilated in the population its original simplicity and purity had to be sacrificed. Buddhist writers consciously or unconsciously accepted the popular superstitions and magical beliefs and treated them as serious elements of the faith. In this new world of Buddhists we find everything surcharged with magic. Anything extraordinary or wonderful, or any event or action for which the masses could not account was ascribed to magic. The Buddha saw the truth and acquired such a big following because he was a magician, his disciple Maudaga-la-Mandagalayam was so successful because he also was a magician. Birds fly in the air and gods wield great powers

¹ J.A.S.B., 1891 and J.R.A.S., 1894, article by Waddell.

² Waddell. Lamaism, page 15.

³ H. P. Shastri. . . . "Introduction to Modern Buddhism," pages 6-7.

because they know magic, and it is with the help of magic that emperors rule over vast dominions¹.

During this period of ramifications, the Buddha was worshipped not so much for his agnostic idealism, or the simplicity of his teaching, or even for his touching renunciation of his high estate, of his beloved wife, and child, as for the magical powers which he was supposed to wield. What an irony of fate that the Buddha who so vehemently opposed the practice of magic was himself branded as a great magician !!

The Lord is reported to have told his disciples that by his magic power he cleared many worlds of their sins, and transported all creatures². Once, no sooner had the Lord finished his speech than the world burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattavas with gold-coloured bodies. Each of these Bodhisattavas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattavas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers. And while these Bodhisattavas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating with various hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away during which the Lord Sakyamuni remained silent, and the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon³.

The daughter of Sagara and the Nāga-King believed that it was due to magic power that the lord arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment⁴.

The magical powers which the Buddha wielded were believed to be the result of his transcendent knowledge, but he employed his power always for beneficial purposes⁵. Happily no witchcraft is ascribed to him even by the Tantric Buddhism.

The Bodhisattavas, the disciples of the Buddha, the preachers, and the sages all are invested with magic powers. In the ideal world of the later Buddhists, the beings can move in the firmament with their magic⁶. Ānand-Bhadra, the keeper of the

¹ Saddharm Pundarika xi. 6.

² *Ibid.*, XIV.

³ Saddharma Pundarika xiv. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, page 253.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, page 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, page 194. S.B.E., Vol. XXI.

Buddhistic law is conceived as a great Gīṇa endowed with magical power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world¹. The eighty thousand Bodhisattvas who once appeared before the Lord were all gifted with magical spells². A Buddhist sage, besides many other virtues, possesses also the knowledge of magic spells which he obtains in a dream³. The Sramanas were well-known for their magic arts. When King Ajātaśatru put his father into prison and the latter did not die when he was expected to die, it was believed that his death was delayed by some magic arts. The warder of the jail told the king that Mahamandgalayana and Puṇḍra approached his father through the sky to preach the law to him. Ajātaśatru readily believed that it must be their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of his wicked father for so many days⁴.

In the form of riddhi, or the acquisition of supernatural power, magic is a recognised attribute of the Arhats. Asaṅga, a great Buddhist scholar of the fourth century A.D., on the basis of Yoga doctrine of ecstatic union of the individual with the universal spirit, which had been introduced into Hinduism by Patanjali about 150 B.C., taught that by means of mystic formulas, dharanis and mantras, a state of mental fixity can be reached⁵. The recitation of the Dharanis and Mantras was accompanied by music and certain distortion of the fingers known as mudras which figure so prominently in the Tantric magic. Allied to Iddis is the piriti⁶ form of magic, which as practised by the Hinayanists, is a reading of certain scriptures as an exorcism against evil spirits in sickness. It addresses itself to "all spirits here assembled," and says:—

¹ Saddharma Pundarika, ix. p. 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, XII, page 258.

³ *Ibid.*, XIII, page 278.

⁴ Amitayur dhyana Sutra, part I.

⁵ Yogicarya Bhumi Sastra.

⁶ The particular suttas used for this purpose are Ratana Sutta, Khanda-Paritta, Mora Paritta, Dhagagga Paritta, and the Atanatiya Paritta, and the Anguli-mala Paritta all of which are found in the Pirakas.

“Therefore, hear me, O Ye spirits, be friendly of the race of men, for every day and night they bring you their offerings, therefore keep diligent watch over thee”¹.

The Naths, the followers of Nathism which according to MM. H. P. Shastri is an off-shoot of Vajrāyanism, are still employed in some Rajputana states as professional magicians for averting locusts, and causing rain. In the states of Kotah, Bundi and Jhalawar there is a Nath for every three or four villages, holding rent-free land as fee for his performance of magic for the public good.

The development of belief in the power of magic formulas is distinctly traceable in the texts of the later Buddhism. The Suttas or the sermons which were traditionally believed to be pronounced by the Lord were naturally regarded as sacred, and in course of time a mere unintelligent recitation of them came to be regarded as producing various good results. If one recites or even listens to the Dharma Pariyaya Sutta, for instance, he shall never have a mouth disease, his tongue is never sore, his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal, his lips never become loathsome². Further, by the study of this Sutta, one can discern the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons. He can also infer whether the child that a woman bears in her womb is a boy or a girl. He can also infer if a woman is big with a dead child. He can smell treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, and jewellery³.

If the recitation of what was supposed to be the sermon of the Lord could produce such marvellous results, was it too much to expect that the recitation of his or any other Buddhist deity's name could also bring forth desired results? The smaller Sukhāvati Vyūha lays great stress on the fact that people can be saved or can be born in the land of Bliss, if only they remember and repeat the name of Buddha Amitabha two, three, four, five, six or more nights before their death, and it distinctly denies that people are born in the Paradise of Amita-

¹ Hardy's Eastern Monachism.

² Saddharma Pundarika, XVII, page 10.

³ *Ibid.*, XVIII, pages 32, 38.

bha as a reward or necessary result of good works performed in the present life. The new religion is not that as a man soweth, so he shall reap, but that as a man prayeth, so he shall be saved. Now if such a thing as Nirvāṇa was possible through mere recitation of a name, what difficulty could there be in obtaining considerably smaller desires? Accordingly we find that if one utters the name of the Buddha all his sins are destroyed and expiated¹. We are assured that if a man given up to capital punishment recites the name of Avalokitesvara, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder, and the teeming goblins and giants shall lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs². Mighty spells, witchcraft herbs, ghosts, and spectres revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara³. If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nāgas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body⁴.

The next step must have been the recitation of dharanīs which are classified as Atmadhaini, Granthadharanī, Dharmadharanī, and Mantradharanī⁵. Burnouf⁶ in his Introduction to Indian Buddhism distinguishes between Mantra and Dharanī, but the distinction is more technical than real, and for all practical purposes the dharanī may be taken as magic spells, which were pronounced or repeated for the obtainment of various desires.

The tendency culminates in regular spells employed against snake bites or demons and sorcerers⁷. The Buddhist preachers were in the constant apprehension of an attack by a demon, giant goblin, sorcerer, imp, or ghost, to guard against which they were recommended to employ certain talismanic words or spells. These charms were first given to men by Bodhisattava Mahāsattava Bhaiṣagyaçārya with the approval of the Lord. I reproduce below the smallest of them :—

¹ Amitayurdhyan-Sutra, page 28.

² Saddharma Pundarika, xxiv, page 407.

³ *Ibid.*, page 414.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIV, page 414.

⁵ Dharmasangrah in A.O. Ancient Palm Leaves Series.

⁶ Introductory Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, page 540.

⁷ Mora Paritta.

Gvāle Mahagvāle, Ukke Mukke,
Ade, adavati, tritye trityavati,
Itini vitini kitini, tritye triyavati

Svāhā¹.

The spell is untranslatable and unintelligible.

The superhuman beings mentioned in the Buddhist texts are Nāgas, Goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Gamdas, Kinnaras, greatserpents, men, and beings not human. They are always mentioned together but there is no reference to their distinguishing features. We have seen that the study of particular Suttas reveals them to a man and the recitation of the name of Avalokitesvara protects a man from their attacks. A party of giantesses named Lamba, Vilamba, Kutadantī, Puṣhpadantī, etc., with their children and suits are reported to have once gone to the place where the Lord was residing and offered him the help of their spells to protect the Buddhist preachers from hostile attacks, which the Lord accepted. The following is the charm ascribed to the giantesses :—

Iti me, Iti me, Iti me, Iti me, Iti me,
nime nime nime nime nime,
ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe
stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe

Svāhā².

¹ Saddharma Pundarika xxi, page 372.

² *Ibid.*, XXI, page 374.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

**Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held
in the B.A. Lecture Theatre of Patna Col-
lege on Saturday, the 31st January, 1931.**

PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President of the Society, presided.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered an interesting lecture on "Orissa Sculpture" and illustrated her subject with excellent lantern slides.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on February 22nd,
1931.**

PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on December 7th, 1930.

2. Read and approved the Hon. Treasurer's submission of the accounts for the months December, 1930 and January, 1931.

3. Read a letter, dated December 10th, 1930, from the Vice-Chancellor, University of London, Institute of Historical Research.

Resolved: that Sir Edward Gait, Sir B. K. Mallick, and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be invited to represent the Society at the Anglo-American Historical Conference to be held in London in July, 1931.

4. Read the Mithila Pandit's Report, dated January 5th, about the acquisition of Manuscripts.

Resolved: that the Pandit should report, and recommend for purchase, specific MSS. of excellence.

5. Read the Oriya Pandit's application, dated December 10th, 1930.

Resolved: that since he is unable to attend at Patna, and since Government requires the cataloguing of MSS. to be completed within a year, the Society dispense with his services.

6. Resolved: that Pandit Chintamani Misra be offered the post of Oriya Pandit to the Society for the period of one year.

Resolved further: that, in accordance with Government's letter No. 804-E, dated February 18th, 1931, Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri and Dr. Hari Chand Sastri prepare a programme, to which the Oriya Pandit shall strictly adhere, so that the work may be completed within the time allotted.

7. Resolved: that the Society's lectures be advertised and persons desirous of attending be invited to apply to the Secretary.

8. Resolved: that the Secretary write to H.H. the Maharaja of Hutwa to repeat the generosity of his previous donation to the Society.

9. Read the Office Pandit's application for leave, dated February 7th, 1931.

Resolved: that he be granted two months Privilege Leave as from April 7th, 1931, and that he be allowed to prefix Good Friday and the Easter Holidays to the leave granted.

10. Resolved: that Pandit Ramkumar Chaube be elected member of the Society.

11. Considered the request of the Bombay University Library to be allowed discount on Journals ordered.

Resolved: that 10% discount be allowed to all Libraries on Journals purchased.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on March 15th, 1931.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Sahib M. Ghosh.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on February 22nd, 1931.

2. Read and approved the Honorary Treasurer's submission of the accounts for the month of February, 1931.

3. Passed the Agenda Paper for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on March 27th, 1931.

Resolved: that the following be proposed to the meeting as Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1931-32.

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A. (Oxon).

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D., Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri, B.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

4. Read a letter, dated January 28th, 1931, from the Secretary XVIII International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden.

Resolved: that Professor Sten Konow and Sir Edward Gait be invited to represent the Society.

Resolved further: that in the event of Professor Konow and Sir Edward Gait proving unable to attend the Congress, Professor J. Ph. Vogel be asked formally to represent the Society.

5. Read the application of the Office Pandit for additional remuneration for having made three typed copies of the Catalogue of the Society's Library.

Resolved: that the Pandit be granted the sum of Rs. 60.

Resolved further: that the Catalogue be printed at the discretion of the Editorial Board.

6. Elected Mr. R. Ch. Panda, L.R.P., a member of the Society.

7. Read the letter, dated February 17th, 1931, of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

Resolved: that the exchange of Journals with the Archaeological Department of Gwalior be permitted.

8. Read the letter, dated February 2nd, 1931, from the Rama Verma Research Institute, Trichur.

Resolved: that no exchange of publications was possible.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1930-31.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1929, was 177. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost three of its ordinary members by death and two by resignation, and five subscribers to the Journal, a total loss of ten. On the other hand the names of five new members and of two new subscribers to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1930, was accordingly 174. Among the life-members there has been no change. The number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December, 1930, was 13 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 202.

II.

During the period under review Volume XVI (Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 487 pages and three plates: one of the Barli (Ajmere) Stone and two others of the Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva. Part 1 of Volume XVII is in the Baptist Mission Press.

The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1930.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 28th March, 1930, in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director of the Historical Research Institute, Bombay, then addressed the Society. The subject of his learned address was "Ramadeva Ray II, an unknown Emperor of Vijaynagara".

An ordinary Meeting of the Society was held on the 31st January, 1931. Dr. Stella Kramrisch of the Calcutta University delivered an interesting lecture on "Orissa Sculpture" and illustrated her subject with excellent lantern slides.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 6th April, 27th July, 14th September, 19th October, 7th December, 1930, 22nd February, and 15th March, 1931.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 210 books (298 volumes), of which 12 were Sanskrit and 4 Pali works, were added to the Library. Of the total 48 were presented while 132 were obtained by exchange and 30 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1930, the Library contained 5,110 volumes, as compared with 4,812 at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 206-12-5 was spent on books during the year. Books worth £226-17s. have arrived from England and books worth £25-11s. are on the way.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnulal Sastri was employed in the Bhagalpur district and catalogued 156 manuscripts during March and April, 1930. He also brought to light some old judgments. He was employed at Headquarters from April 24th to February 14th, to help Dr. Hari Chand Sastri in writing out the Introduction to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Mithila manuscripts and to make some alterations and additions to the Jyotisha Volume of the Catalogue. The Pandit was on leave from July 28th to September 5th, 1930. The Oriya Pandit worked in the Jajpore and Baramba districts, cataloguing 426 manuscripts and discovering two copper plate grants. Only unpublished and little known manuscripts have been recorded as a rule, and of these many have not been described in other catalogues.

The services of the Oriya Pandit were available up to the 30th of September, 1930, on which date the Government Grant

of Rs. 1,020 a year for his maintenance expired. But in anticipation of a further grant he was engaged in Patna in preparing his work for the press till the 17th of November, when he went away on leave, and since he expressed his inability to join in Patna, the Council found itself forced to dispense with his services.

A new Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, has been appointed in his place and joined duty in Patna on the 10th of March, 1931.

The Society still awaits benefactions on the part of some enlightened patron by whose financial aid it may undertake the publication of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Orissa.

VI. GENERAL.

The Society lost two of its keenly interested members by death. One was the late Honorary General Secretary, Mr. E. A. Horne, I.E.S., who vacated his office in the year 1929 on his departure to Aligarh as Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University. The other was the well-known historian, Prof. R. D. Banerjee, of the Benares Hindu University, who was on our Editorial Board for some time, but resigned owing to ill health.

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference met with great success in December, 1930 under the auspices of the Society. His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa kindly accepted the office of Patron and contributed much towards the success of the Conference.

The following were added to our exchange list:—

“Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Polish Archives of Oriental Studies”, University of Lwow, Poland.

“India House, General Department,” Aldwych, London.

VII.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

18th March, 1931.

J. L. HELL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1930 to February, 1931.

A. The actuals for 1929-30 showed a closing balance of Rs. 5,994-9-1 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 8,600-0-0 the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 14,594-9-1 at the end of 1929-30.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February, 1931, the current account closing balance was Rs. 5,522-0-3. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 9,781-12-0 which gives a total of Rs. 15,303-12-3.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1931, amounted to Rs. 1,967-11-7. Up to the 28th February, 1930, the realised amount was Rs. 2,906-13-10. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,899-15-0 up to the end of February, 1931. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 749-15-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 135-11-9 up to February, 1931, which has been taken into current account.

Large balances out of budget allotments are again a feature of the year which is drawing to a close.

18th March, 1931.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 28th, 1931.

INCOME.

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscriptions	1,967	11	7	2,100	0	0
Sale of Journal	1,227	7	0	750	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	5,138	0	9	....	
Postage Recovered	27	13	0	30	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts	22	8	0	50	0	0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report	650	0	0	650	0	0
Government Grant	6,623	0	0	6,623	0	0
Government Grant	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
<i>Opening Balance :</i>						
Hathwa Fund	3,812	5	$\frac{1}{2}$	3,812	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
Darbhangha Fund	42	15	$11\frac{1}{2}$	3,370	14	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Mayurbhanj Fund	962	13	$8\frac{1}{2}$	5,161	9	$11\frac{1}{2}$
General Balance	1,176	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	2,364	13	3
GRAND TOTAL	22,651	1	5	25,912	10	$9\frac{1}{2}$

(a) This includes Rs. 5,135-11-9 received from Allahabad Bank
(Fixed Deposit realised with interest).

18th March, 1931.

S. BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer.



Actuals up to February 28th, 1931.

EXPENDITURE.

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	1,154	2	3	1,284	0	0
Mithila Pandit	989	8	8	1,353	0	0
Oriya Pandit	813	15	0	770	0	0
Telephone	260	14	0	225	0	0
Paper for Journal	288	4	6	342	3	0
Printing Charges	1,932	12	0	5,000	0	0
Postage	233	14	6	425	0	0
Stationery	87	12	6	100	0	0
Library	603	11	3	1,000	0	0
Electrical Charges	300	12	0	360	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund	3,818	6	1	3,710	14	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund .. ..	....			1,025	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	206	12	5	5,161	9	11½
Furniture	55	12	0	100	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	6,382	8	0	550	0	0
<hr/>						
TOTAL	17,129	1	2	21,406	10	11½
Closing Balance (b)	5,522	0	3	4,505	15	10
<hr/>						
GRAND TOTAL	22,651	1	5	25,912	10	9½

(a) This includes Rs. 6,000 sent to fixed Deposit.

	Rs.	A.	P.
(b) Closing Balance Mayurbhanj Fund ..	3,891	13	½
Darbhanga Fund ..	65	7	11½
Hathwa Fund ..	455	8	1
General Balance ..	1,109	3	3

GRAND TOTAL ..	5,522	0	3
General Balance in Fixed Deposit ..	4,135	6	0
Current Account ..	1,109	3	2
<hr/>			
GRAND TOTAL ..	5,244	9	2

S. BHADUR,

Honorary Treasurer.

18th March, 1931.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥ or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or ṛī	ब	b
ऌ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	ḷ
च	ch	◌̣ (Anusvāra)	ṃ
छ	chh	◌̣̣ (Anunāsika)	ṃ̣
ज	j	◌̣̣̣ (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh		
ञ	ñ	× (Jihvāmūliya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	) (Upadhmanīya)	ḥ
ठ	ṭh	◌̣̣̣ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ड	ḍ	Udātta	—
ढ	ḍh	Svarita	^
ण	ṇ	Anudātta	˘

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. XVII.]

1931.

[PARTS II-III.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Saka 913.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These plates form one of the sets of copper plates lent to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for examination by the Raja Bahadur of Mandasa, a zamindari in the District of Ganjam. They are reviewed in the Epigraphical Report for 1917-18.¹ I edit the inscription engraved on them with the help of the excellent ink impressions supplied to me by the Epigraphical department.

The set consists of *three rectangular plates* measuring 7" by 3½". In each plate there is a hole about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, apparently intended to pass the *ring* which held the plates together. I have not seen the ring itself; but the following account of it is given in the above mentioned Epigraphical Report.² "The set is hung together on a ring which carries a fixed circular seal (1 inch in diameter) on the surface of which are cut in relief, in the place of the bull, usually appearing on the seals of the Eastern Ganga Kings, the crescent at the top; a fish in horizontal position in the middle and an elephant goad in similar position at the bottom. No legend is engraved on it."

It may be mentioned here, in this connection, that the

¹ and ² No. 12 App. A and p. 138, para 17.

crescent and the elephant goad are found along with a bull on the seals of the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta,¹ of the copper plates of Narasimhadeva II,² and of the Chicacole plates of Maharaja Satyavarmadeva.³ The fish, carved in the place usually occupied by the bull, was probably the crest of the Kadamba dynasty, the family to which the donor belonged. But Dr. Fleet in his *Kanarese dynasties*, p. 560, mentions the lion crest of the Kadambas; yet, the seals attached to the grants of Vajrahasta III⁴ (s. 971) and of Devendravarma, son of Rajendravarma,⁵ contain the fish together with the bull. Perhaps the crest on the seal of the plates under examination intimates the union of the Kadamba family with the Ganga dynasty."

The edges of the plates are raised in rims to protect the writing from wearing out. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second are engraved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " and the whole inscription occupies 37 lines. The letters are all rectangular in shape and the engraver seems to have tried to reduce all curves into rectangles.

The characters present a curious mixture of Nagari (as written in the south) e.g., च in चमर, स in सर्वेस; श in शर्वे, न in रमणी in l. 1. क in सकल l. 2; l. 3, etc., Grantha, e.g., त in तल्ललित l. 2 ज, न, त in जनित l. 7; etc., Telugu, e.g., ल in सकल, l. 1; न in नरा l. 3; च in l. 8 द्रा in l. 3, etc., and Oriya, e.g., प in पुरानु, स in सुख l. 1; स in सकल l. 2; प्र in l. 3, दृ in l. 4, त्री in l. 3. खू in l. 5, etc. Of the 738 letters forming the charter 199 are Nagari, 59 Telugu, 101 Grantha, 157 Oriya, and the rest are similar to those that are found in the charters of the earlier Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

The addition of vowel signs to consonants is as in Oriya, e.g., सचरा (l. 4), गुरो (l. 4), निर्माणै, चूडामणि (l. 8), मैजरी (l. 8). In some cases, the long vowel sign found in the earlier Kalinga plates is found, e.g., वास (l. 3), चूडा (l. 8), पाच (l. 20). च is Oriya all

¹ Above Vol. IV, No. 24.

² *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, No. 3, 1896.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, No. CLII, 1885.

⁴ *Ecp. Rep. App. A.* No. 3, 1918-19.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 7.

through, e.g., निखिंस (l. 9), पिचा (l. 13), चासिता (l. 17), पिचा (l. 28). य is Oriya in एकल (l. 24), भाववयत् (l. 29), and न्यायन (l. 27). ण्ड is Oriya in दुर्दण्डपण्डित (l. 2), खण्ड (l. 23), माताण्ड (l. 16), मण्डल (l. 18), चेण्डाल (l. 37); औ is another Oriya letter found used in the document. र after a consonant is written as in Oriya, e.g., प्रासाद (l. 2), प्रणामो (l. 16), प्रतापा (l. 7), चक्र (l. 8), प्रभा (l. 8), ग्रामे (l. 23), ग in गंगामल (l. 14), कलिंग (l. 3), गोकर्ण (l. 5), is an Oriya letter. व stands both for *va* and *ba*, e.g., सर्ववाधा (l. 25), कदम्बा (l. 16), सव्दा (l. 17), तम्ब (l. 23). In the beginning of a syllable the Oriyas use *ja* for *ya*. In this document this distinction in the use of *ya* is found, e.g., जगल (l. 6), जामाये (l. 29), जोहरेत (l. 34). But the same sound symbol is used for the palatal ज in जीवन, जानपद (l. 21), राजो (l. 16), राज (l. 20), जायते (l. 35) cf. रायो of the Andhra inscriptions. Similarly ल is dental in the beginning of a syllable and palatal in other places. To represent the latter sound the Nagari ल is used as in -लंकृत, साला (l. 2), चल (l. 11), सकल (l. 12), मण्डल (l. 12), कारवल (l. 29), सिला (ll. 31 and 32), नल (l. 37), चण्डाल (l. 37). The Telugu ल is used to represent the dental sound, e.g., धवल (l. 1), सकलाल (l. 2), वीरतल्लालितल्ला (l. 2). But the engraver was not consistent in the use of these two sound symbols. The Telugu ल is used for the palatal sound and *vice versa*. cf. सिला (ll. 31 and 32) and सिला (l. 33). But he draws a difference between the Telugu and the Grantha न. The latter he uses when it does not coalesce with consonants, e.g., पुरानु (l. 1), कनक (l. 3), भुवननिर्मा (l. 4), खाभिनः (l. 5), अनेक (l. 6), जनित (l. 7), -वनत (l. 7). In conjunction with consonants the Telugu न is used, e.g., महेन्द्रा (l. 3), सामन्त (l. 8), -मदनन्त (l. 14), जयन्त्या (l. 15), and also before र, e.g., गोकर्न (l. 5), नराधि (l. 3), नैरत्या. Except in रानखी (l. 36), where the Telugu न is used for ण, in all other places the palatal sound sign is rightly used. न्त in सामन्त (l. 8); नै in वर्ने are written as in Telugu. Four sibilants are used; ष in प्रतिष्ठित (l. 4) and in विद्यायां (l. 35) is written as in Oriya. But in विशय (l. 18) the Oriya श is used for ष. In प्रवेश (l. 26), शिखर (l. 3), शब्द (l. 7), शकाब्द (l. 15), and शतक (l. 15) the correct symbol of the sound is used; but in other places श stands for स e.g., सुष (l. 1), सुधा (l. 1), सकल (l. 2), सूत्र, etc. The Grantha श also is similarly dealt with, e.g., स in प्रासाद (l. 2), वासक (l. 3), सामन्त (l. 8), etc., and श in शशांक (l. 5), शौर्य (l. 12). The Nagari स is used for ष in शर्वेसं (l. 1); for श in मण्डलखर (l. 8) सौला

(ll. 31 and 32); in सौम (l. 33), वसुधरा (l. 35), and सामन्त (l. 36), it stands for its natural sound. Grantha ज is used to give the pure palatal sound in जनिन (l. 7), जय (l. 7), संजरीपुंजरंजन (l. 8), etc., but the letter for the *antastha ya* is used in places which have been shown already. य for ध is used in सुवयार (l. 5). च is everywhere grantha and ङ and ङ are Nagari. In कुराच (l. 36) the final vowel has the Oriya sound of short अ. It should be pronounced like o in no. The nasal before a consonant is changed to *anusvāra* as in Telugu, e.g., सकलालंकृत (l. 2), संजरीपुंजरंजन (l. 8), कुंभ (l. 10), गंग (l. 14), पंच (ll. 18 and 20). In some places the nasal is changed to correspond to the consonant following it, e.g., महेन्द्र (l. 3), अनन्त (l. 14), ताम्रसासन (l. 24); both *anusvāra* and the nasal are used in *Kadammva* (l. 16).

It is believed that the copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva IV of Orissa¹ is the earliest epigraphical record that contains Oriya words. But it has been shown above that Oriya letters and modes of spelling are used in this Kalinga grant. कुराच (l. 36), जादु (l. 24), पद्मारा (l. 34), भित्तु (l. 33), are Oriya words found in the grant. From the observations made above with regard to the confusion in the use of श, ष, स, it may also be inferred that Oriya was the spoken language at the time of this charter. For, the confusion amongst these sibilants is found when the Oriyas speak. The same kind of confusion is also felt between the dental and palatal ङ. Distinct sound symbols for *antastha* and *mūrdhanya ya* are found used as in Oriya. It appears, therefore, that the Oriya had been in use, though not wholly in public documents, even in the early part of the 10th century, when this document was written. It must have been the home language of the people.

Similarly the scribe does not appear to be consistent in the rules of Sandhi and grammar. In चूडामणेरभगवतः and भगवतो गोकर्णः (l. 5) he changes the *visarga* correspondingly; but in रंजन निज (ll. 8 and 9) he drops it. Such vagaries are too many to mention here. I, therefore, corrected them in the foot-notes to the text.

ANANTAVARMADEVA was the sovereign king at the time of the charter and he was identified with the ANANTA-

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, Part 1, No. 2.

VARMA VAJRAHASTADEVA, *Trikalingādhipati* of the Narasipatam,¹ the Madras Museum² and the Nadagam³ plates. The Chikkali,⁴ and the Boḍḍupāḍu⁵ plates are two other charters of the latter king recently discovered. All these five charters uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well. The gotra and the genealogy of the family found in the five sets are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates. Above all, the king of these five charters was a *Maharājādhiraj*, and *Trikalingādhipati* while the king of our plates was a simple *Maharaja* and did not possess the title *Trikalingādhipati*, which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chedi Kings on the west.⁶

In spite of such differences the mistaken identification was caused by the mistaken interpretation of the passage intimating the Saka year. '*Sākābdē nava-śataka sapta-rasa tama*' (l. 15) was understood to mean Saka 976 (l. 34). In the expression mentioning the Saka years, the addition of '*śataka*' to *nava* clearly denotes that 9 was in the hundreds place; but no such index is attached to *sapta*. Therefore *sapta-rasa* means 7 and 6 units, i.e., 13. So the date of the charter is Saka 913 clearly. If it had been intended to mean 76, the place value of *sapta* would have been given. If the place value of '*nava*' had not been given, the figures had to read backwards.

Then the expression giving the regnal years requires a little elucidation. In line 34, they are expressed by '*Samastha padnāra 15*'. '*Samastha*' is an Oriya word used to express the regnal years in documents;⁷ the figure 15 clearly indicates the meaning of the word '*padnāro*', which is a mis-spelling for

¹ Above Vol. XI, No. 14.

² Above Vol. IX, No. 11.

³ Above Vol. IV, No. 24.

⁴ *Bhārati*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 138 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 83 ff.

⁶ *Journal of Andhra Research Society, Rajamandry, Vol. I, Part I, Tri-kalinga.*

⁷ A large number of documents in Ganjam District given in *Ranga-chary's Topographical lists* give the date in *Samastha* years. The Oriya inscriptions in Mukhalingam and Simhachalam temples also give the date in *Samastha* years.

'pandraro' the Oriya word for 15; the final 'ra' is the ordinal termination. The charter was issued in 'samastha pandrāro 15', and it is now necessary to explain this system of reckoning.

This Samastha system is similar to the Anka reckoning explained by Mr. M. Chakravarti in his article on the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa.¹ The chief special characteristics are given thus:—

- “(1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) should be omitted.
- (2) The last *Anka* year of one king and the first *anka* year of the succeeding king (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.”

This system is still in vogue and in *Almanacs* and *horoscopes* the regnal year (Samastha or Anka) of the reigning prince of Puri is given along with the Kaliyuga and Śaka years.

According to this reckoning, Samastha 15 gives only 13 years of actual reign. The donor must have been crowned in Saka 901. This is 59 years prior to the Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva that was crowned in Saka 960. The king that was reigning over Kalinga 59 years prior to the donor of the Nadagam plates was Kāmārṇava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva, Kāmārṇava IV appears to have reigned from Saka 895 to Saka 915; but according to the Nadagam plates he reigned from Saka 888 to Saka 915. In both the final year is the same. On the authority of the plates under study, the donor seems to have come to the estate in Saka 901.

Anantavarma by which the king of our plates is mentioned, is not a name but an imperial title. Copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva II,² informing about Kolahala, mentions that Kolahala became the first *Anantavarma*. “Sa=ēvā=nantavarmā=bhavat.” Then came *Kolahala* and he became the king. Trikalīngādhipati Vajrahasta was Anantavarma; his grandson Choda Ganga was Anantavarma, Raja Raja, the father was called the Devendravarma in the copper plate No. 4 of App. A.

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII, Part 1, No. 2 of 1903, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXV, Part 1, No. 3, 1896, 1. 16.

Epigraphical Report for 1918-19. This is the only set yet discovered of this king; yet it may be assumed that an Anantavarma is succeeded by a son, Devendravarma, who is, in his turn, succeeded by an Anantavarma. Working on this discovery backwards, Gundama II was an Anantavarma and before him Vajrahastadeva IV, alias Anayāṅkabhima, was an Anantavarma and Kāmārṇava IV was an Anantavarma. 'Deva' is added to the imperial title when the name of the king is not given; but when both the title and the name are given, it is added on to the name alone, e.g., Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva. As the plates under review contain a charter issued by a vassal of the king, it is but meet that the king is mentioned by his imperial title only, and *deva* is added on to it. So we have *Anantāvarmadeva*.

The inscription gives two other titles of the king, *Paramabhātāraka* and *Paramamāhēśvara* are the two titles which are not found in the charters of the earlier Ganga kings but are found in the grants of Vajrahasta V, and Choda Ganga. Perhaps these titles were assumed when sway over a greater country had been secured. Western Chalukyan Satyāśraya assumed *Paramēśvara* as a special title after his victory over Harshavardhana of Uttarāpatha. The Kalinga kings Prithivivarmadeva,¹ Trikalīṅgādhipati Vajrahastadeva and Choda Gangadeva² are the rulers, subsequent to the king of our plates, that bore these two titles. The Vajrastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates³ was neither a *Trikalīṅgādhipati*, a *Paramēśvara* nor a *Paramabhātāraka*, yet Dr. Keilhorn identified him with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. In this connection it may be mentioned that such mistakes are unavoidable when the identification is entirely based on synchronism.

From several points of view the Parlakimidi plates appear to be older than the plates under review:—

1. The shape of the letters and the proportion of Nagari and other characters used.
2. The letters cha, dha, bha, and śa, which have been

¹ Above Vol. IV, No. 26.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, Nos. 178-180.

³ Above Vol. III, No. 31.

considered by scholars like Dr. Hultsch to test the period of an inscription¹ are older than those employed in our plates.

3. The Oriya influence, so much felt in our plates is not to be found in those of Parlakimidi, except in a few letters, e.g., त्रै (l. 8).
4. Ugrakhedi of the Kadamba family mentioned in the Parlakimidi plates must be an ancestor of Dharmakhedi of our plates. Bhāmakhedi was the father of the donor of these Mandasa plates; Ugrakhedi must have been at least the father of this Bhamakhedi who was only a village *pālaka*. By their prowess and faithfulness to their king, they might have risen from generation to generation, from the position of a village head to that of a *Mahāmandalesvara*.

So the Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakimidi plates may be identified with Vajrahasta III, who was about 75 years earlier than the Anantavarmadeva of the Mandasa plates under review.

The donor of the grant was Dharmkhēdi, the son of Bhamakhēdi of the *Kadamba* family. He had subdued the enemies in the west of the mountains by the five kinds of sounds (l. *pancha-mahāśabdānēka-tūryaravōtrāsītā* = *rati śatruḥ*) and (became) the *Mahāmandalesvarah* and *pancha vishayā* = *dhipatiḥ*. The province over which he ruled was called the district (*vishaya*) of *pancha-pātra*. This grant records the gift, by this Dharmakhēdi, of the village called Madhipatharakhanda in Mahendrabhoga, a part of the district, to an individual called Erukala-jādaṁ, the dark grandson of Dharmaka and the son of Kēsara.

The village is said to have been situated in Mahēndrabhōga. Bhoga² means wealth or property. So Mahendra-bhoga means the property or region of the (*mountain*) Mahendra i.e., the region around the Mahēndragiri. Such mountainous regions are indicated by the addition of the word 'bhoga' in some old records. Hamani-bhoga in Dhanantara³ plates and Mandā-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 10, para 4.

² *Sabdakalpadruma*.

³ Above Vol. XV, No. 14.

bhoga in the Dodra¹ inscription may be cited as examples. The region around Mahēndragiri now forms the zamindāri of Mandasa where the plates are also discovered. It is in this region that the village of Madhipatharakhanda should be sought for. Patharakhanda (84°34' E. Long. 18°54' N. Lat.) of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 108 may be identified with this old village.

Pancha-pātra-vishaya is said, in the present grant, to include the region of Mahēndra mountain; and the Parlakimidi plates say that Lanka-kona was in this vishaya. The latter may be identified with the village Lanka (84°57' E. Long. 19°4' N. Lat.) in the Jurada estate which lies to the north of the Mandasa zamindari. Considering the physical aspect of these two estates, the remaining three parts of the vishaya may be presumed to be hilly or rocky. The word 'pātra', which must have been used to denote the rocky nature of the country, is a mis-spelling of the Oriya word 'pathhara' which means 'a rock'. 'Pāncha-pathhara' in Oriya means the five rocks. The present plates also inform us that the donor had subdued the enemies in the west of the mountains *parvata-paschamata-tīrē pañcha-mahāsabdā=nēka-tūryaravōtrāsita=rāti chakrah* (ll. 16-18). So he was the lord of the hill tracts during the time of Kāmārnavā IV, as there was a *manya-sultan* (the lord of the hills) during the time of the Mahammadans and an Agent to the Governor of Madras in these days. The control of the hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam has been necessary even from the tenth century, if not earlier.

Since this *pañcha-pathhara vishaya* is found to embrace within its limits the five rocky regions now known as the estates of Mandasa and Jurada, it must have extended from the river Mahēndratānaya in the south to what is now called the Chikati zamindari in the north and from the sea in the east to the Vamsadhāra river in the west. Jayantyāpura said to have been the chief seat of the *vishayādhipati*, must have been situated within the limits of this Vishaya. Jallantra-cottah (84°36' E. Long., 18°57' N. Lat.)² is an old place and its port Barwah is

¹ *Ep. Rep.* 1921, Part II, p. 96.

² *Indian Atlas sheet*, No. 108.

mentioned by Ptolemy as the point whence the sailors struck across the Bay of Bengal in sailing to the opposite coast.¹ Jallantra-cottah and its surroundings contain relics of antiquarian interest.² So the Jayantya-pura of old may be identified with the modern Jallantra. Subsequently I learnt that, near this Jallantra-cottah is a village by name Jayantyāpura.

The chief residence of the king was Kalinganagara which, in this charter is, written as *Kalinga-narā=dhivāsaka*, the headquarters of the people of Kalinga.

The royal order was attested by Rāṇaka Vētti-kurao and it was transmitted to the parties concerned by one *Sāmanta* Nala Chaṇḍāla Sanda. The word Chaṇḍāla indicates that the messenger was one of the untouchable class. Amongst the Oriya untouchables is a sect called the *Sāmuntiya*³ a corruption of which is *Sāmanta*. Sanda, Śanda, or Shanda means an emasculated attendant.⁴ In Ganjam and Vizagapatam an attendant of the untouchable class is maintained in every village and his duties are to go on errands sent by the village headmen and to watch the village at nights. He is called *bāriki* in Telugu and *dandāsi* in Oriya. From this document it appears that this system of maintaining a village watchman is not a modern institution but has been in vogue from the tenth century A.D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1-ख[f]स्त[॥] अ[म]रपुरातुकारुण⁵[:] सर्वेस⁶ सुखरमणीयात् सुधा-
यव-⁷

2-⁸लप्रासाद मालावौरतल्लालितल्लास्यात् दुर्दण्डपण्डितसकलालङ्क-

3-त श्रीकलिंग न[ग]राधिवासका[ग]महेन्द्राचलामलकनकप्रिखरप्र-

¹ *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II.

² *Sewells' Lists of Antiquities*.

³ *Ganjam District Manual*, p. 169.

⁴ *Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary*.

⁵ Read कारिणः ⁶ Read सर्वेषास् or सर्वदा

⁷ Read सुधाध ⁸ Read लप्रासाद

- 4- ति[]स्य सचराचरगुरो[र]सकलभुवननिर्माणिकसूत्र-
 5- धार[स्य] शशांक¹खूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन ख-
 6- रणकमलजु²गलप्रणामादौ³गतकलिकलंको[ऽ]ने-
 7- काह्य⁴ संखो⁵भजनित जयशब्द⁶ प्रतापावनत-
 8- समस्तसामन्तचक्रखू⁷डामणौप्रभामो⁸जरीपुंजरंज⁹त[]
 9- निजनिस्त्रिंशद्वारोप¹⁰जनसकलकलिंगाधिराज¹¹
 10- दुर्वारवैरिवारणकुंभस्थलदलदलितमुक्तिकाप्रकरधूस-
 11- रितकुलाचलो नयावी¹²नयदयादानदल्ली¹³

Second Plate—First side.

- 12- श्रौर्योथार्थसत्यत्वागसकलसंपदाधारभू-
 13- तो परममाहेश्वर[ः]परमभट्टारक[]मातापित्रा¹⁴पादानुध्यात[ः]
 14- परमेश्वर[]गंगामलकुलतिलक[]श्रीमदनन्तवर¹⁵मदेवस्य
 15- राज्ये शकाब्द¹⁶ नवशतक सप्तसप्तत¹⁷ जयन्त्यापुरेस्थि-
 16- त[ः]परममाहेश्वर[ः]कदस्वामलकुलकमलमार्ताण्ड[ः]परव¹⁸[त]प
 17- खम[त]तौर¹⁹ पंचमहाशब्दानेक तूर्यरवोचासिता-
 18- र[]तिचक्र[ः]पंचवैसयाधिपति²⁰महामण्डल²¹खर रा
 19- णक श्रीभामखेडिस्य²²सुत[ः] राणकश्रीधर्मखेडि पादान् कुश
 20- लिन[ः]पंचपात्र²³वैसयप्रधानसमस्तराजपादोप-
 21- ²⁴जीविना जनपदा यथारौहतीमानयति बोधयति शका-
 22- पयति विदितमस्तु भवतां[]महेन्द्रभोग मधिप-

1 Read चूडा

2 Read युगळ

3 Read द्विगत

4 Read काह्य

5 Read संखोभ

6 Read शब्द

7 Read चूडा

8 Read मङ्गरी

9 Read रञ्जितो

10 Read धारोपजनित or धारोपार्जित

11 Read राज्ञो

12 Read विनय

13 Read दक्षिण

14 Read पिठ

15 Read वर्षा

16 Read शकाब्दे

17 Read ०मते

18 Read पर्वत

19 Read तौर

20 Read ०विषयाधिपति

21 Read महामण्डलेश्वरो

22 Read ०खेडेरुतः

23 Read विषय

24 Read जीविनां जानपदान् यथार्हमानयति बोधयति संज्ञापयति

Second Plate—Second side.

- 23—यखखग्राम[:]केसरस्य सुत[१] धामककस्य¹ कालिंघोज-
 24—स्य एखकलजादउ जगकस्य² मुदकपूर्वके तम्बशासन[१]
 25—द्वत्य प्रदतो³ रस्माभी सर्ववाधाविवर्जित आचेटभा⁴ट अ-
 26—प्रवेस भूमिद्विप्राम⁵पिधान्याए[ना]चन्द्रार्कक्षिति समका-
 27—ल पर्यन्त[६]मातापित्रा⁶रात्मना सत्वानां
 28—सोभाववयत्[१]सौमालिङ्गानिलिखन्ते[:—]पूर्वेण
 29—गर्त[१] आये[७]यां कारा⁷मुल[१] जा⁸माया खयम्भु उभ-
 30—⁹इ सौलामह[१]नै¹⁰हत्यां पिंपलत्रीक्षसनिधिरोपित
 31—सौ¹¹ला[१]वाहत्यां रोपित सौला[१]वायव्यां रोपित सौ-
 32—¹²ला[१]सोम्या याव गाडासौमा[१]ईशान्ये धर्मो-

Third Plate.

- 33—¹³सरदेवसन्निधे गाडसौमा[१]¹⁴एतस्य भीतुल[१]सामा-
 34—¹⁵स्य पद्मारा १५[॥]सदत्त परदत्तम्वा जो हरेती
 35—¹⁶वसुंधरा[१]सटिं वरौस सहखाणि वीष्टायां जाय
 36—¹⁷ते कृमिः[॥]वेष्टि कुराव्य रागखौ[१]नेतमा सामन्तन-
 37—ल चेखडाल सखोः[॥]

¹ Read धामकस्य कालिंघापी

² Read जनाय उ note the difference of ज in जादउ and जनकस्य

³ Read प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिसर्ववाधाविवर्जित

⁴ Read भट्ट

⁵ Read सपि धानन्यायेन cf. E.P. Ind. Vol. XI, No. 14, ll. 55-56.

⁶ Read पित्रोरात्मनस्य

⁷ Read कारमूल

⁸ Read याम्यायां खयम्भु उभ

⁹ Read य सिला मह

¹⁰ Read नैहत्यां कारमूलः पिप्पलडक्षसन्निधि

¹¹ Read सिला[१]वाहण्यारोपित शिला

¹² Read ला[१] सोम्या यां गाडसौमा[१]ईशान्यं धर्म

¹³ Read श्वरदेवसन्निधि गाडसौमा[१]

¹⁴ Read एतस्य भित्तरे here भित्तरे is Oriya.

¹⁵ Read स्य पद्मारो १५ ॥ सदत्तम्परदत्तम्वा यो हरेति

¹⁶ Read वसुन्धरास् ॥ सटिर्वर्षं सहखाणि वि

¹⁷ Read -ते कृमिः ॥

Abstract of Contents.

The illustrious Anantavarmadeva of the family of the Gangas who had the stains of *Kali* washed by making obeisance to the lotus feet of the Gokarna established on the golden summit of mount Mahendra; whose feet were brightened by the lustre of the crest-jewels of the circle of chieftains subdued by his valour; who was the devout worshipper of Mahesvara; who meditates on the feet of his father and mother; and who was the over-lord of the whole Kalinga; was reigning at Kalinga-nagara, where in rows of white palaces abided the valarous and the learned.

In the Saka year 913, Rāṇaka Dharmakhedi, the son of Rāṇaka Ugrakhedi, the devout worshipper of Mahēsvara, (born) in the spotless family of the Kadambas, who had terrified¹ a

¹ Pañcha-mahā-śabda is an expression generally found in Copper-plate grants. Yet it has not been satisfactorily explained. In Rāmāyana (Kumbakonam, Madhava Vilas Edition VI, 96. 35)

ततश्चासीन्नृजानादस्त्र्योषां च ततस्ततः ।

सदृशैः पटहैः शशङ्खैः कलहैः स्पर्शराक्षसाम् ॥

A great sound was then made by the rākhasās with the Mrdaṅgas, patals, conches, and trumpets and also with the arrows let fly hither and thither.

It may be an accident that only five sound producing things are mentioned here. Not only five sounding instruments were taken into the battle-field but many more. In Mahābhārata we read of the warriors striking terror into their enemies' hearts by blowing on their conches. So the expression cannot be taken to mean the great sound produced by five instruments. In the Rāmāyana the sound of the flying arrows is one of the five mentioned whereas in the documents the tūñi-rava is not included in 'pancha'. It appears that 'pañcha' in the compound has the same significance as the 'pancha' in 'pañchāśya' which means a lion. Pañchāśya=pancha (spreading) and āśya=mouth. (H. H. Wilson). In like manner Pancha-mahāśabda means pancha=spreading; mahā=great; śabda=sound, i.e., the great spreading sound. This appears to be the correct sense conveyed by the compound; for, if the war sound does not spread over the whole field how can it terrify the enemy? The right significance of the expression is 'the great war sound'. The word 'pañchaka' means a battle-field. The pañcha-mahā-śabda signifies the sound that fills the whole battle-field and makes all other sounds suppressed. The expression 'Pañcha-mahāśabda-tūñiravotrāsita' means the great (maha) and the

host of enemies to the west of the mountains and who was the governor of the five mountainous districts (*Panchapātra Vishaya*) issues (the following order) to the chief and other servants of the king (as well as) to the freemen (*jānapadāh*) of the district.

Be it known unto you (that) for the favour of all beings towards our father, mother and ourselves, the village of Madhipatharakanda, in the region of Mahendra, free from all obligations and taxes,¹ has been granted by us to one Erukalayādava, the son of Kēsara and dark grandson of Dhāmaka, with libations of water, by means of a copper-plate charter that it might last as long as the son, the moon and the Earth last.

Then the boundaries of the village are given.

The charter is dated in the Samasta 15 (the regnal year).

Then an imprecatory verse.

The charter was attested by Vēṭṭikurao, and Samanta Nala Chaṇḍāla. Sanda transmitted it (to the parties concerned).

spreading (*pañcha*) sound of the flying arrows. In latter times the vassals, according to their deserves were granted by their suzerain lords the particular drums that each should sound whenever he goes out; or at particular times in the day at his headquarters. During the Mahammadan times these were the *Dhaṅka* (a big drum) and *Now-bath* (the nine kinds of drums) and the vassals of the Nabob were allowed to use them as an honour; considered in this light the *Pañcha-maha-sabda* may mean the five kinds of war drums; these are, as seen in use now, the kettle-drum, the gong, the trumpet (*kāhali*), the horn (it is a brass tube curved like horn) and the conch. It is a great honour conferred on a vassal if he is allowed to use these five kinds whenever and wherever he goes out, either to do homage to his suzerain or into the battle-field.

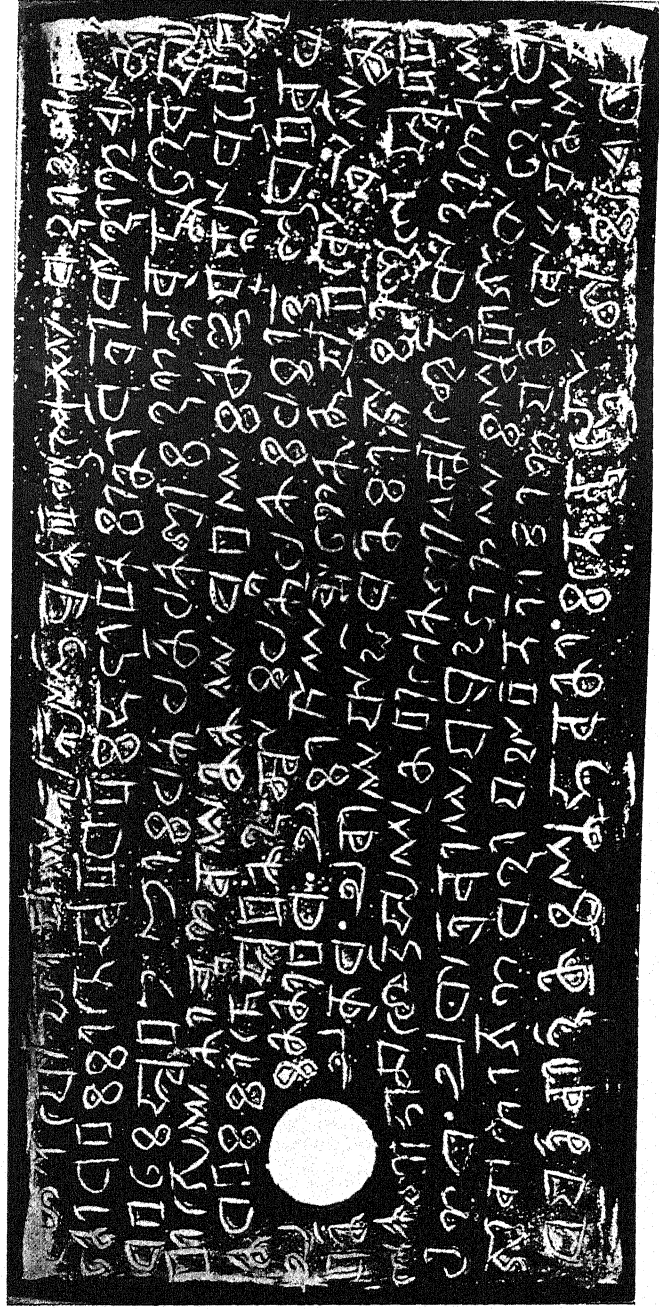
¹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायः—No assessment is to be made on the land just like unarable land. R.A.S., July, 1926, pp. 488-9. So I translated into "free from taxes".



Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva Śaka 913.

PLATE I.

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12

14

16

18

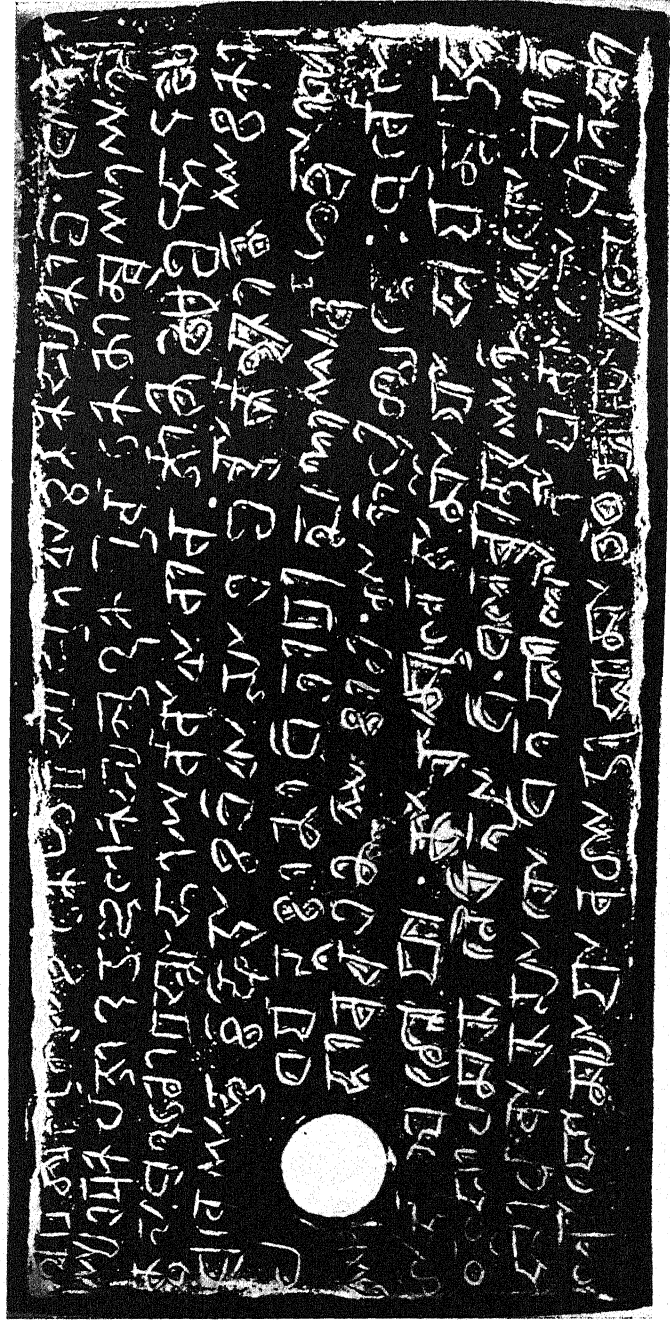
20

22

Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913.

PLATE IIa.

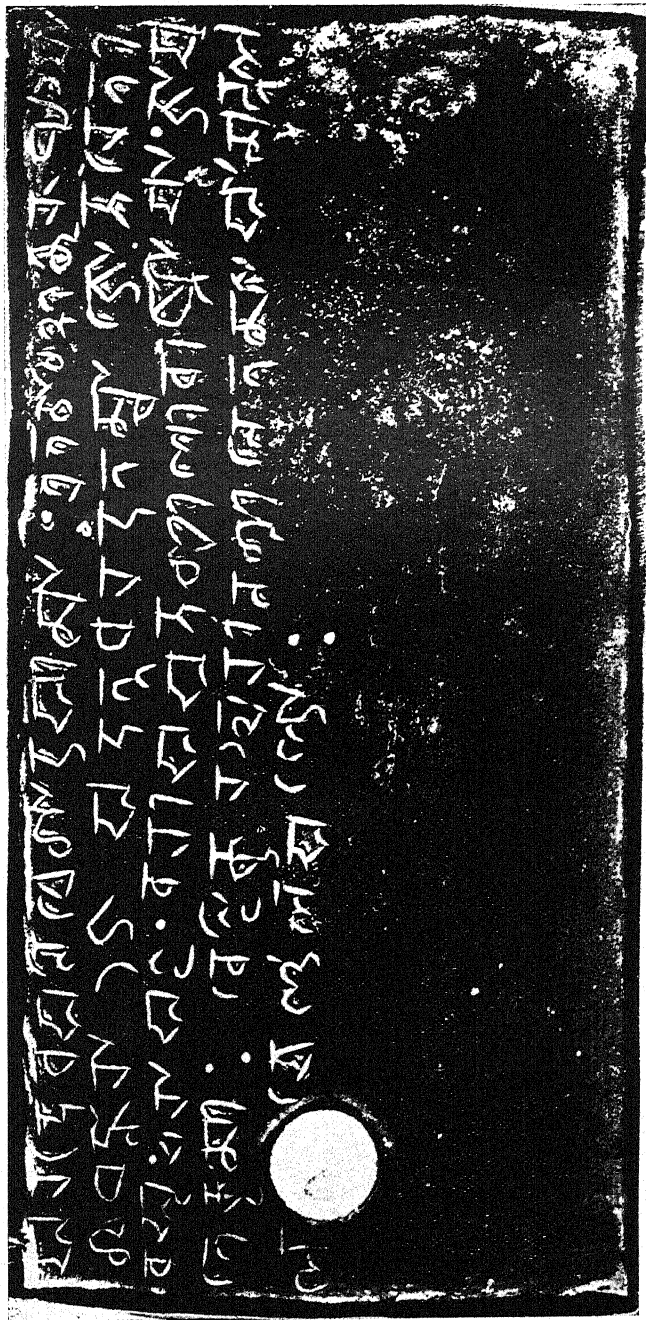
J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Saka 913.

PLATE IIIb.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.



Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913.

PLATE III.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, PARTS 2 & 3.

II.—Studies in the Folk-lore of North Bihar.

No. I.—The Indigent Brahman and the Helpful Birds

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The items of North Bihari folk-lore, which form the subject-matter of these studies, have been collected by me from a Bihari Brahman named Bikram Pathak who lives in the village Pathaktoli near Hathwa in the Gopalganj Sub-division of the district of Saran in North Bihar. As these have not been published before, I am now publishing the same with some notes. I am giving below the first instalment of these studies which is named "*The Folk-tale of the Indigent Brahman and the Helpful Birds.*"

Once upon a time there lived a very indigent Brahman who, even by begging, could hardly earn enough wherewith to support himself and his family. So, one day, he made up his mind to go out into the wide, wide world in search of a fortune, saying that he would either succeed in achieving his object or die in the attempt.

One day he started from his home with the aforesaid object in view. It so happened that, by the side of the road by which he was going, there was a large tree at the roots of which there lived a ferocious tiger who used to kill the wayfarers who travelled by that way and, after feeding upon their flesh, used to take their valuable belongings and hide the same underneath the ground. While, up above the tree, there lived among its branches a parrot and a goose. These two birds were on friendly terms with the ferocious tiger.

In the course of his journey, the indigent Brahman was about to arrive at this tree, not knowing that there lived a ferocious man-eating tiger at its roots. Just at this moment, the parrot and the goose from their habitation at the top of the tree, saw the indigent Brahman coming near the tree. Seeing the danger into which the latter was running, they made up

their mind to save him from a horrible death. With this object in view, they flew down from the tree and told the tiger that his deceased father's *guru* or spiritual preceptor was coming to him and that he should, therefore, go out to receive the latter with all due honour and bring him to his lair. The tiger did as he was advised by his two bird-friends to do and, bringing the indigent Brahman to his lair, entertained the latter very hospitably and conferred on the latter all the wealth that he had amassed by killing the wayfarers. The Brahman was very glad in obtaining this untold wealth, and, after a few days, left for his own home. Having arrived there, he and his family lived in great affluence and happiness.

In the course of a few years, all the wealth that the Brahman had obtained from the tiger was spent and he became poor again.

He, therefore, made up his mind to go to the tiger again and obtain from the latter a fresh supply of wealth. With this object in view, he again started on his journey towards the place where the tiger lived.

Now, in the course of the years which had elapsed since the Brahman's first visit, one of the helpful birds—the parrot—had migrated to another forest; while the other helpful bird—the goose—had died. In their place a jackal and a crow had come there and became the tiger's advisers. The crow used to live on the tree; while the jackal used to dwell with the tiger at the foot of the tree. These two new friends of the tiger used to assist the tiger in killing wayfarers and to feed upon the remains of the latter's corpses after the same had been consumed by the tiger.

But, in a tree which grew close to the tree at the foot whereof the tiger dwelt, a new helpful bird had come and taken up his residence thereon. This new bird used to warn travellers who unknowingly came that way and thus saved them from being killed by the tiger.

This new helpful bird saw from the top of the tree that the Brahman was unwittingly coming near that tree with the object of paying a visit to the tiger. He, therefore, thought it highly advisable to inform the Brahman of the change which

had taken place in the tiger's *entourage* and to warn him of the danger he was running into. With this object in view, he flew towards the Brahman and bawled out the following rhyme :—

१. “सुगा गये निकुञ्जवन् ।
२. हन्स् गये कैलास् ॥
३. जाऊ विप्र घरे आपन् ।
४. मन्त्री काग शिघार ॥”

Translation.

1. The parrot has gone to Nikunjavana.
2. The goose has died (lit., has gone to Kailāsa or heaven).
3. O Brahman! go to your own home.
4. The crow and the jackal are (now the tiger's) advisers.”

Hearing these words of warning, the Brahman retraced his steps and returned home. He was thus saved from being killed by the tiger and eaten up by him and his wicked friends, the jackal and the crow.

The leading idea which underlies the foregoing folk-tale is that a human being is saved from death by three helpful birds.

Now the question arises : under what category of folk-tales should this new North Bihari folk-story be classified ?

No. II—The Magic Fiddle That Blabbed out the Rājā's Secret

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The second instalment of these studies is a North Bihari folk-tale entitled "*The Magic Fiddle that Blabbed out the Rājā's Secret.*" It is as follows :—

Once upon a time there lived a Rājā who had two horns growing out from his forehead. He was very much ashamed of this abnormal growth on his forehead and did not at all wish that anybody should know of this fact. Whenever a barber shaved him, he saw these horns. Fearing lest he would divulge his secret to the world at large, the Rājā used to have him killed. In this way, one barber after another shared the same fate. Coming to know of this, the remaining barbers refused to come and shave the Rājā. At last, the Rājā managed to procure an idiotic barber and kept him confined in a well-guarded house so that, after shaving him the latter might not go out, mix with the outside public and inform the latter of the Rājā's secret. But the forcible method by which the barber was compelled to keep the Rājā's secret to himself had a most prejudicial effect upon the former's health, so much so that he became emaciated and black as if he was suffering from a most dangerous disease. He always kept muttering to himself the following rhyme :—

१. कहा बिनु रहा न जाय् ।

२. राजा के दोगो छिं वा ॥

Translation

1. (I am) unable to live (lit., remain) without divulging (lit., saying) the secret.
2. (That) the Rājā possesses two horns (on his forehead). He grew from bad to worse. One physician after another was called in to treat him, but all of them failed to cure him

of the malady that was undermining his health. At last, one physician was summoned who very skilfully diagnosed that some secret, which the patient was being compelled to keep to himself, was undermining his health and that the latter should be urged to divulge it to somebody whereupon he would recover. As the patient persistently refused to divulge the secret to the physician, the latter advised the former to go to a neighbouring orchard and embrace a particular jack-tree with his two hands, that is to say, perform the चाँकोयार ceremony upon that tree, and divulge the pernicious secret to it.

The barber acted up to the physician's advice. Lo and behold! from that very moment he began to recover; whereas the jack-tree began to wither away till it was dead.

Now the proprietor of the orchard having no use for the dead jack-tree, sold it to a carpenter who cut it down and took the timber home.

From this timber, the carpenter made a *Sāringi* or fiddle and sold it to a dancing girl.

Now, on a festive occasion, a *nautch* was being held in the aforementioned Rājā's palace. The dancing-girl, who had purchased the *sāringi* or fiddle, was dancing to the accompaniment of the playing upon that fiddle which kept chanting out the aforementioned rhyme:—

१. कहा विनु रहा न जाय ।

२. राजा के दोगे सिं बा ॥

On hearing the notes of the *Sāringi*, the Rājā was astonished to find that his secret, which was known only to the barber, had become known to the outside public. He made enquiries about the carpenter who had manufactured the *sāringi* or fiddle and, having found him out, sent for him and enquired from him as to where he had obtained the timber from which he had manufactured the fiddle in question. He told the Rājā the whole story of his having purchased the timber of the dead jack-tree on which the barber had performed the चाँकोयार ceremony.

Thereupon the Rājā sent for the barber and enquired from him as to who had divulged his secret to the jack-tree.

The latter admitted having done so in accordance with the physician's advice. Finding that the barber finally told him the truth, he pardoned him but had the magic fiddle which blabbed out his secret and the remainder of the timber of the jack-tree destroyed. Thereafter both the Rājā and the barber lived in peace and happiness.

On analysing the foregoing North Bihari folk-tale, I find that there are two noteworthy features in it which require some discussion. These are :—

(1) The Bihari custom of performing the *आँकोचार* ceremony for transferring diseases.

(2) The question as to whether there are, in the folk-lore of other races, any parallels in the shape of magic fiddles blabbing out some secrets.

As regards the point (1) *supra*, I may state here that there is prevalent in Bihar a rite by the performance of which diseases and other physical disabilities are transferred to trees. The rite consists in the patients going to a tree and embracing it with his or her two hands; and it is believed that by doing this, the disease or physical disability is transferred to trees. In this way, barren women transfer their barrenness to trees by performing the *आँकोचार* rite. There are various other Indian methods for transferring diseases, which I have described and discussed in my paper entitled: "*On some Indian ceremonies for Disease-transference*" which has been published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XIII, No. 1 for 1917, pages 13-21.

As regards the point No. (2) *supra*, I may state that the tree-spirit or the vegetation-spirit resident in the jack-tree imbibed the patient's knees and also, coming to know of the secret that the Rājā possessed two horns, chanted it out from the fiddle.

This belief in the existence of vegetation-spirits is widespread among peoples living in a low plane of culture. Whenever a hero's or heroine's blood is spilt or his or her corpse is buried, bamboos and other trees grow up from the blood or buried corpse. There are two instances of this belief in the folk-lore of the Hos of Singbhum and one in the folk-lore

of the Santals of the Santal Parganas. I have described and discussed these three instances in my paper entitled: "*On a Ho Folk-tale of the Wicked Queens Type*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1926.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—The Jayapura Copper-Plate Grant of Dhruvānanda Deva

By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.

A revised reading of the text of this plate has already been published on pp. 457–472, Vol. XVI of this Journal, but unfortunately several printing mistakes appear in the body of the text, which need corrections, as indicated below. The symbols printed after the word सम्वत् in line 39 have not also been accurately reproduced. The sentence, “If the third symbol..... 283” in lines 28–30 on page 459 should be read as, “If the third symbol be not a compound monographic, or, indicatory digit, but a simple one, then it may be read as 3 and be taken to represent the regnal year (third) of the donor in the era of 281”.

The original charter contains use of two forms of letters *na* and *tha*. The *anusvāra* occurring at the end of a line, e.g., in दृषास् in line 4 and in प्राणिनास् in line 9, has been indicated by the letter *m* or *n* and in हंस (line 8) *n* and *s* have been joined together so as to form one compound letter the corresponding one of which is not in use in the current Oriya alphabet. The charter also contains use of two words *Tāmyra* and *Tāmra* (line 33) in the same sense both meaning copper. The use of the word *tāmyra* in place of *tāmra* is found in many a contemporary charter of mediæval Orissa. The current Oriya of *tāmra* (copper) is *tamvā* and of *āmra* (mango) is *āmva*. In the opinion of Dr. Banerji-Sastri, the record contains an orthographical peculiarity, viz., “*b* and *v* often confused”, but I do not find a single instance of this in the whole charter.

Corrections to the Text:—

Line	Read	For
4	नातङ्गा (ङ्गा) कुष्टव (तिः)	नातङ्गा कुश्चत (श्रुतं)
5	क्षवा यात्थ जने पत्थ	क्षवा पत्थ जने त्थ यात्थ

Line	Read	For
5	दिलौपे	दिलापे
6	शूर दुर्लङ्घ्य	शूर दुर्लङ्घ्य
7	यो भूद्विप्यरानन्द	योभ $\frac{\text{श्री}}{\text{द्वि}}$ पा (प) रानन्द
7	तस्या विरासीव्	तस्या विरासाव्
8	कीर्त्ति	कीर्त्ति
10	रूपामृतो	रूपामृतो
10	(गैर्नि) र्मलैः	(गैर्नि) र्मलैः
11	केसरि (री)	केसरी
12	यस्योच्चै	यस्योच्चै
13	: शरदी	शरदी
15	दर्पणे	दर्पणे
16	यस्योच्चैः सितमन्दौ (न्दि)	यस्योच्चैः सितमन्दौ (दि)
	रादध्वज	राद्वज
16	हृद्यावली	हृद्यावली
17	दु (दू) राद्वाति	दु (दू) राद्वाति
19	जनश्चेष्टितैः	जनश्चेष्टितैः
21	रम्भोदधि	रम्भोदधि
25	ऐरावट्टम(ण्ड)लीये	$\frac{\text{ध}}{\text{रे}}$ रावट्ट मलीये
27	सकरणो	सकरण
27	रार्ज (ज) पादोपजीवी	राजपदोपजीवी
29	सि (सी) मा	सिमा
30	म्भवण	स्यवण

II.—A few observations on the Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva

By J. C. De, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (London)

This plate was edited in the March, 1930 issue of this journal (p. 69 to 83).

The original inscription, so far as I can make it out from the copy, puts Śubhākara and deva together. I do not see why "Śubhākara" and "Deva" should be taken separately, as has been done in the fourteenth line of the "text" (p. 78).

The king in the usual way greets, informs and commands (mānayati vodhayati samājñāpayati l. 17; the editor translates "honours and intimates") some of his officers with regard to the grant. Among these officers is mentioned Kumārāmātyaḥ or Kumārāmātyāḥ (l. 15). Panditji translates the word by "younger sons of King" and "Ministers" (p. 81).

It is not quite clear to which "King" he refers. Mahāsāmantas and Mahārājas head the official list, and chāṭabhaṭa-vallabhajātiyān concludes it (l. 15 and 16). It is apparent that in this list the officers are (though it is well known that in some inscriptions they are not, *e.g.*, in F.G.I. no. 38 l. 20 and 21) arranged according to their status. Reigning Mahārājas of Northern India did not think it derogatory to have Mahāsāmantas used with their own names in their own charters.

Directly after the Mahāsāmantāḥ (or Mahāsāmantāḥ) and Mahārājaḥ (or Mahārājas) we get Rājaputraḥ (or Rājaputras). Rājaputras is translated by "princes". This translation is certainly correct, if by "princes" we mean the "sons of rulers", and not reigning vassal princes as distinguished from (independent) kings. I fail to perceive why "the sons of King" should be mentioned again in the list after Rājaputras. Granting that Kumāras were the sons of the reigning Mahārājādhirāja as distinguished from "Rājaputras", the sons of vassal princes, it is naturally expected in this list that kumāras should precede rājaputras.

The term kumārāmātya is a very familiar one to the

student of the administrative history of the period of Hindu Renaissance. In the recently discovered Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta we find that Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja Śrī Vijaya-sena who was the Mahāpratihāra of Mahārāja Vainyagupta, made the commands of his overlord known “unto the kumārāmātyas, Revajjasvāmin, Bhāmaha and Vatsabhogika” (Ind. Hist. Quarterly, March 1930, p. 55, l. 16 and 17). In the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta we find among other officers kumārāmātyas immediately preceded by uparikas (F.G.I. 12, l. 27). Uparikas also occur in this inscription, but this word has been left untranslated. I think the English equivalent for uparikas will be “governors of provinces” who were higher in status than vishayapatis (heads of districts). The composer of the Kauśāmbī Inscription (F.G.I. no. 1) was the Khādyatāpākika, Sāndhivigrahika, Kumārāmātya, Ma-(hādaṇḍanāyaka)ka Harishena (l. 32). Whether khādyatāpākika stands for khādyatattva-parīkshaka or not, the mention of the titles other than kumārāmātya shows the high position this person occupied in the hierarchy of the imperial bureaucracy. That he was not the son of the reigning king is proved by his being mentioned as the son of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti. Dhruvabhūti was undoubtedly a high government officer, but he was not even a Mahārāja. In some of the earlier Maitraka grants we do not find the Kumārāmātyas mentioned in the list of officers (e.g., in the Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I of 206 Val. Sam.; of 210; and of unknown date; E.I. XI, p. 106 to 108, 115, 110 and 111). But in the Maliya Copper Plate Inscription of Dharasena II we find two new classes of officers, viz., the Kumārāmātyas and Rājasthānīyas added (F.G.I. no. 38, p. 165 to 167, l. 20 and 21). The older customary list of officers is obviously added to by the inclusion of these persons. It seems to be a fact that an extension of political power and a greater degree of administrative organisation necessitated the creation of these two classes. The Navalakhi Plates of Silāditya I of the same house (E.I. XI, p. 178 to 180) support this view. Mahattaras and cātabhaṭas are followed by Kumārāmātyas and others. Rājasthānīyas are not mentioned by name (l. 18). Prof. Bhadkamkar who

edited the Plates seem to have overlooked this in his note on the word (p. 176). The evidence I have tried to collect above, from North Indian Inscriptions of the period beginning from the fourth century A.D. and ending by the tenth century A.D. does not support his interpretation, and Mr. Venkayya, the editor of the E.I. draws attention to "a different explanation of the word" in n. 2. of p. 50 of E.I. X. The exalted position of a Kumārāmātya in Northern India is further testified to by the references in the Tipperah Copper-Plate Grant of Lokanātha (E.I. XV, p. 306 to 309). The Kumārāmātya acts as the agent of the overlord to the vassal Lokanātha. The seal itself bears the legend "Kumāramātyādhikaraṇasya" in relief on the obverse. "Lokanāthasya" is found "on the smaller seal". The officer is referred in the plural number denoting respect (e.g., Kumārāmātyāḥ, l. 1, and vayanṁ in "vijñāpitā vayanṁ", l. 21).

Among the officers of Śubhākaradeva connected with the Kaṅkavirāviśaya, we come across pustapālas. Panditji corrects pustapāla into pustakapāla and writes pusta(ka) and pāla separately (p. 78). This correction certainly makes the meaning clearer. But there is no indication of a ka in the Plate. This is a term which occurs in other inscriptions. In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of Gopachandra of the year 19 (I.A. XXXIX, p. 204) the land to be granted was "determined" "by the Record-Keeper Nayabhūti's determination" (l. 17 and 18). In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of the time of Dharmāditya (p. 200 and 201) some specified lands are "determined" "by the Record-Keeper Janmabhūti's determination" (l. 17 to 20). In the Faridpur Copper-Plate Grant of the time of Dharmāditya of the year 3 (p. 195 and 196) the Viśayamahattaras and the common folk gave "heed to" a "request" about conveyance of land, and "being unanimous", "determined" the matter "by a determination" (avadhāraṇā) by the Pustapāla Vi(na)yasena (l. 9 and 10). I agree with Dr. Pargiter in thinking that he was a "village official" "subordinate to the mahattaras" whose duty lay in preserving records concerning the title to lands (p. 213).

Antaraṅga (the editor prefers Āntaraṅga) is taken to be

a relation of the reigning king (p. 81). In the Ghugrahati Copper-Plate Inscription of Samāchāradeva we find that Jīva-datta was the Antarāṅga Uparika of Navyāvakāsikā. He "worshipped the lotus feet" of Mahārājādhirājā Samāchāradeva. He "approved" a particular district officer (vishayapati) and was also "the master of the bullion market" (E.I. XVIII, p. 76 and 77).

I shall take a later opportunity of giving the grounds of my objection against the correction of bhāṭa of chāṭabhāṭa into bhāṭṭas. The editor seems to have omitted the vallabhas who were apparently minor government servants, from his translation. At the same time I must thank him for his edition of the passage which now makes it quite clear that chāṭabhāṭas were paid by the State. They are said to live "on royal bounties" (Rājaprasādinah I. 16).

III.—Note on a Recent Instance of Human Sacrifice from the District of Sambalpur in Orissa

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

There is current in many countries throughout the world a widespread belief that avaricious and miserly persons, who accumulate great hoards of wealth during their lifetimes, cannot take away their thoughts from their riches even after their deaths. They, therefore, assume the shape of monstrous snakes and guard their treasure hidden under the earth. When disgusted with their lives as snake-guardians of treasure-trove, they ask some covetous person to take possession of the hidden treasure by sacrificing to them some one of their dearest kinsmen. The presence of this belief in India has received a striking illustration from a recent case which has cropped up in the Nizam's Dominions. A rich woman named Rādhāmmā of village Yelamner kidnapped a child and sacrificed it to find out a hidden treasure. This case has been fully described and discussed by me in a paper which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1928, pages 435-437.

Recently there has occurred, in the district of Sambalpur in Orissa, a case of human sacrifice which has been announced in *The Bihar Herald* (published from Bankipur) for Saturday, the 1st November, 1930, in the following paragraph:—

“A case of alleged human sacrifice is reported from Barpali in Sambalpur District. The victim is a seven-year-old lad whose head, it appears, had been severed from the trunk. The body is reported to have been discovered in a well in the house of Jadu Somari, who is stated to be a disciple of a village wizard.”

“A set of instructions written on palm-leaves concerning animal sacrifice is also reported to have been found in the house of Somari. Several arrests have been made.”

The question now arises : Whether the afore-described case of human sacrifice, which has occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur District is one for discovering hidden treasure or one for other purpose.

As regards the first part of the foregoing question, I am decidedly of opinion that the case is not one of human sacrifice for the purpose of discovering hidden treasure.

There now remains the second part of the question to be answered. Regarding the answer to it, I may state here that during my three months' stay at Ranchi from 20th January to 15th April, 1930, Mr. Anil Chandra Chatterjee, Court Inspector of Ranchi, informed me that the custom of offering human sacrifices for the purpose of lending fertility to newly-cleared lands which had been made suitable for cultivation by cutting down the forest thereupon, prevailed in the neighbouring province of Chota Nagpur and that he had investigated into one or two such cases of human sacrifice which had occurred in the Gumla Subdivision of the Ranchi District in that province. In these cases, he said, that the corpse of the sacrificed victim had been buried under the earth.

In the case of the human sacrifice which occurred in the village of Barpali in the Sambalpur District, the body of the sacrificed victim is reported to *have been discovered in a well*. This fact lends some plausibility to the opinion at which I have arrived, that it is most likely a case of human sacrifice for lending fertility to newly-deforested lands. The reasons for my opinion may be stated as follows :—

(1) A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess and consumed either in his or her honour or by him or her and by his or her worshippers. It is further defined to be an offering to propitiate a supernatural being or as an expiation.

(2) The method by which an offering is supposed to be conveyed to the deity or the goddess varies much, *either according to the residence of the deity or goddess in question* or else to the conception of god-head entertained by the worshipper.

(3) *Sacrifices to the earth-deity or earth-goddess may be buried in the field or thrown down precipices, into clefts or ravines.*

(4) Those to ethereal and celestial deities and goddesses may be burnt to ascend the skies in smoke.

(5) Or the skin of the victim may be draped upon the image of the deity or goddess; or the deity's portion may be exposed in the expectation that he will come as in the story of *the Bel and the Dragon* and devour it secretly, or he may simply partake of the spirit of it, as the ancestral spirits of the Zulus were supposed to do by licking it.

In the afore-mentioned case of human sacrifice, which is reported to have occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur District, the victim's body is reported to have been thrown into a well. Now a well is an excavation into the interior of the earth which is the residence of the earth-deity or earth-goddess. Consequently, we may safely infer that, in the fore-going case, the child was sacrificed to propitiate the earth-goddess (भरिचौ-माता), who only can confer fertility upon lands.

IV.—A Note on Fetish-worship in the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

(*With one plate.*)

Fetish-worship has been defined to be the adoration of a strange-looking or uncouth object such as a rough or unhewn block of stone, a curiously contorted root of a tree, a bird's feather and such like objects. These things are regarded as sacred and, therefore, worshipped in their own characters as symbols and not as the dwelling-places, permanent or temporary, of invisible spiritual beings.

The process by which the adoration of a fetish develops into a distinct Hindu worship or cult is taking place before my very eyes in the heart of the town of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal. It is as follows :—

Just to the east of the beautiful Swiss Chalet-like house occupied by T. Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., of the Dooars Roads Division of the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal, there is a plot of grassy meadow which stretches up to the western bank of the little Karalā River which meanders through it. Just almost in the middle of this meadow and almost opposite to the eastern gate of Mr. Mitra's residence, there stand two pipal-trees (*Ficus religiosa*) and about a yard or two from the roots of these trees, there lies a brownish-looking unhewn block of stone which appears like a mass of *jhāmā* brick from a little distance. This block of stone bears on it marks of vermilion which has been daubed on it ; and, sometimes, offerings of copper pices may be seen placed on it. (See the accompanying plate.)

The Hindu servants employed in Mr. Mitra's household call this unhewn block of stone to be the deity Mahākālā and ascribe to it strange and miraculous powers. One of these servants told me that, on one occasion, this stone had been thrown into the neighbouring Karalā River, that it broke into two pieces,

that both the pieces fell into the river but that, during the night, one piece miraculously flew back to its original place near the roots of the two pipal-trees. The marks of vermilion on the stone and the offerings of pice sometimes found on it show that this stone is worshipped as the symbol of the strange deity Mahākāla.

Now the question arises: Who is the deity Mahākāla and what are his functions?

The Rājbandi Kochs and the Meches were originally the denizens of the district of Jalpaiguri. They still form a considerable proportion of the population of the district.

From the census of 1901, it was found that the Rajbandis or Kochs numbered 321,170 or 2/5ths of the total population of the district. The Kochs appeared first in Bengal about the close of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century when Hajo founded the Koch Kingdom on the downfall of the ancient Empire of Kamrup. During the reign of his grandson Visu, the Kochs became semi-Hinduized and adopted the name of Rajbandi, that is, "Of the royal race". They are now recognized as a distinct caste of Hindus. There seems, however, to be little doubt that they belong to a Mongoloid race and entered Bengal from the east by the valley of the Brahmaputra.

The Meches also are of Mongoloid origin. In the census of 1901 they numbered 22,350. Like many of the animistic tribes of India, the Meches have become gradually Hinduized.

False swearing is considered by them to be a grievous offence and the oath which they take to speak the truth runs as follows:—"I will speak the truth. If I speak not the truth, may I and my wife and children be destroyed by Mahākāl (the deity who rules over the wild animals). Let tigers and bears kill us. Let sickness seize us and all belonging to us. Let all perish and die."¹

The Rajbandis, who form 2/5ths of the population of the Jalpaiguri District, are described as "being Hindus when it suits them to be so, and Meches when they obtain pork and

¹ *The Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri.* By John F. Gruning, I.C.S. Printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1911. Page 38.

wish to eat it." In other words, they retain many of their ancient beliefs and superstitions. The Rajbansis worship a number of spirits or deities whose chief attribute is their power to cause evil if they are not appeased by offerings and sacrifices. The undermentioned are the 12 principal deities of the Rajbansis :—

(1) **The Bisto Thākur** who is worshipped so that the rains may not fail.

(2) **The Bormā Thākur** who destroys homesteads by fire if he is displeased.

(3) **The Pobon Thākur** who sends storms and hail and must be appeased to prevent them.

(4) **The Basumati Thākurāni** who has power over the earth ; if she is not satisfied crops fail and there is a famine in the land.

(5) **The Bishhaorī Thākurāni**, a very malevolent deity ; if she is not pleased, children die or become blind, men and cattle are bitten by snakes and all sorts of troubles come.

(6) **The Chandī Thākurāni** who causes sickness.

(7) **The Kālī Thākurāni** who is always endeavouring to do harm and must be frequently worshipped.

(8) **The Mahākāl Thākur**, the god of hills and jungles ; if he is not propitiated he sends tigers and leopards to kill the people.

(9) **The Grām Thākur** who prowls about villages with his wife and causes illness among children.

(10) **The Shib Thākur** who protects the people from troubles, provided that offerings of milk, rice, and plantains are made to him.

(11) **The Lakhī Thākurāni** who brings good fortune ; and

(12) **The Dharam Thākur**, who, like Shib and Lakhī, is a kindly deity.¹

From what has been stated above it would appear that both the Rajbansis (Kochs) and the Meches worship a spirit or deity who is called Mahākāla and who presides over the forests and the wild beasts. As has been shown above, the Rajbansis and

¹ *Op. cit.*, page 42.

the Meches form a large proportion of the population of the Jalpaiguri District. It is, therefore, no wonder that, under their influence the worship of the fetish, which is growing in front of Mr. Mitra's residence, is getting dubbed with the name of Mahākāla. It is just possible that, in course of time, this fetish will be provided with a shrine and will have a priest to carry on its daily worship ; and then it will take its place as a popular cult of Hinduism.

V.—A Note on the Worship of the River Tista by the Nepalese of the Jalpaiguri Dis- trict in Northern Bengal

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., B.L.

I recently had occasion to stay at Jalpaiguri—the headquarters station of the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal—for three months from Wednesday, the 26th November, 1930 to Friday, the 20th February, 1931. I stayed in the picturesque Swiss Chalet-like residence of Tinkari Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Alipur Duars Division of the Jalpaiguri District. It is situated on the western bank of the rivulet Karalā which meanders through the meadow in front of it.

During my three months' stay there, the following incidents and facts of anthropological interest, which throw some gleams of light on the ethnography of the peoples resident in that district, came to my notice. I am, therefore, jotting down, in this paper, a few short notes thereupon.

The Worship of the River Tista by the Hindu Nepalese.

Kānchā, a Hindu Nepalese servant of our household at Jalpaiguri, is stated to have been ill recently. He recovered from it, and, by way of thanksgiving, vowed to worship "the mother-goddess who presides over the River Tista" (निस्सा-माइ).

On Monday, the 19th January, 1931, he took leave from us to be absent from work during the whole of that day for the purpose of performing the aforementioned worship.

On enquiring from him, I learnt that the undermentioned offerings were presented to the "mother-goddess Tista".

- (1) 105 different kinds of flowers.
- (2) 64 copper pices (which were thrown into the river).
- (3) Paddy, maize, and various other cereals.
- (4) 105 cotton-wicks were lighted.
- (5) Camphor and incense were burnt.

(6) Two pigeons were sacrificed. Subsequently their flesh was cooked and partaken of by Kānchā and his friends.

Kānchā further informed me that *mantrams* or prayer-formulæ were recited in the course of this worship but that he neither remembered them nor understood the meaning thereof. So I am unable to give a detailed description of the rites performed in connection with this worship. 105 appears to be a sacred number with the Hindu Nepalese.

A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess and consumed either in his or her honour or by him or her and by his or her worshippers. The consumption of the sacrificed pigeons by Kānchā and his friends was, therefore, strictly in accordance with the requirements of a sacrifice.

Mr. Annada Charan Sen, Vakil, Jalpaiguri, informs me that, in his younger years, he had seen that a goddessling named "the *Old Dame Tista*" (निस्सा-बुड़ी) used to be worshipped in his household and that, in this worship, an elderly woman used to act as the priestess. But he has forgotten the detailed rites performed in connection with this worship.

It is curious that the Nepalese Hindus should take vows to worship the invisible supernatural being presiding over a river by way of thanksgiving for recovery from illness.

But the Hindus in Lower Bengal take vows to worship some god who is represented by the stone *lingam* or phallus and the goddess Kali who is represented by an anthropomorphic image, in case of recovery from illness. For instance, Hindu Bengalis of the male sex suffering from serious and severe ailments, take vows to grow either the hair of their heads, or their beards, or the finger-nails of their hands without cutting the same for a certain period in honour of the deity Tāraknath (an incarnation of Siva) who presides over the shrine of Tārakeshvara in the district of Hooghly in Western Bengal. If they recover from their ailments, they, on the expiry of the stipulated period, visit the deity's shrine at Tārakeshvara, cut their long hair, beards and finger-nails and offer them as thank-offerings together with other valuable offerings to the deity Tāraknath.

If children suffer from some severe illness, their mothers take vows to go to the shrine of the goddess Kālī at Kālighāt

(south of Calcutta) and burn incense on their foreheads in the presence of the image of the goddess, in case of the patient's recovery therefrom. Sometimes, the mothers take vows to go to the same shrine on the patient's recovery, make small incisions on their own bodies, extract a few drops of blood therefrom and present these blood-offerings to the goddess Kālī by way of thank-offerings for their recovery.

The famous Bengali antiquary and scholar the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., bears the following testimony to the prevalence, in modern Bengal, of the aforementioned custom in his essay "*On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India*":—

"The offering of one's own blood to the goddess to which reference has been made above in the extract from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* is a mediæval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable household in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not, at one time or other, shed her blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that, on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgā Pujā following, or at the temple at Kālighāt, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail-cutter (*naruna*), draws a few drops of blood from between her breasts and offers them to the divinity. The last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered mother, tottering with age made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy. Whatever may be thought of it by persons brought up under creed different from that of the Indo-Aryans, I cannot recall to memory the fact without feeling the deepest emotion for the boundless affection which prompted it."¹

Sometimes, if some woman or her child is suffering from some disease of the eye or of some other limb, she takes a vow to present to the goddess Kālī a gold or silver model (in minia-

¹ *Vide Indo-Aryans.* By Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., in Two volumes. London: Edward Stanford, 1881. Vol. II, Pages 111-112.

ture) of the eye or of the diseased limb in case of recovery from that ailment.

The same custom also prevails in Roman Catholic countries. Whenever a person suffers from some diseased limb or member of the body, he or she, in case of recovery from that ailment, presents to the Virgin Mary models of the diseased limb. On this point the well-known naturalist, Mr. H. W. Bates, F.R.S., who, while travelling in the regions watered by the River Amazon, came across an instance of this custom, says :—

“The most important building (in Para) was the chapel of our Lady of Nazareth, which stood opposite to our place. The saint enshrined here was a great favourite with all the orthodox Paraenses who attributed to her the performance of miracles. The image was to be seen on the altar a handsome doll about four feet high wearing a silver crown and a garment of blue silk studded with golden stars. In and about the chapel were the offerings that had been made to her, proofs of miracles which she had performed. *There were models of legs, arms, breasts, and so forth she had cured.*”¹

There is a miraculous and famous grotto at a place named Lourdes in the Hautes Pyrenees in France, which contains the renowned shrine of the Virgin Mary. This shrine is one of the most celebrated pilgrimages in the world. Thousands of pilgrims visit annually this shrine not only from other continental countries but also from Great Britain and Ireland. Roman Catholic Christians, who suffer from serious and apparently incurable maladies, take vow to the Virgin Mary that if, by her miraculous intervention, they would get cured of their disease, they would visit her shrine and present to her their crutches and the like. In fulfilment of their vows, the pilgrims kiss the sacred stone, as they file through the grotto *where the crutches and other aids of those divinely cured are hung up as thank-offerings.* (See the two plates illustrating the shrine and the offerings on page 1019 of Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II.)

¹ Vide “*The Naturalist on the River Amazon*” by Henry Walter Bates, F.R.S., London : John Murray, 1892, page 29.

VI.—A Note on the Nepalese Belief about a Particular Individual's Being Permanently Obsessed by a Deity

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

During my three months' stay at Jalpaiguri from Wednesday, the 26th November, 1930 to Friday, the 20th February, 1931, the under-described instance of the Nepalese belief about a particular individual's being permanently obsessed by a deity came to my notice. A Hindu Nepalese servant named Kānchā is employed in the household of Tinkari Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Executive Engineer (P.W.D.) of the Alipur Duars Division of the Jalpaiguri District, with whom I stayed during the aforementioned period.

It so happened that on Friday, the 23rd January, 1931, Mr. T. Mitra's little son, Master Rabindra Nath Mitra, in a fit of childish fretfulness, spat on Kānchā's face. Shortly afterwards, Kānchā became morose and sorrowful and with tears in his eyes, came and complained to me and Mrs. Mitra about his having been polluted by the child's spitting on his face. He said: "*Myself and my father are not ordinary men. A deity permanently obsesses or resides in us. We would not partake of food touched by the lips of even my mother and sister. I shall have to perform some sort of expiation for removing the pollution from me.*" Having said so, he began to shiver and dance as if he was in a fit of religious ecstasy. On our remonstrating with him for dancing in our presence, he replied that he personally was not responsible for doing so, as the deity residing in him was compelling him to do it. Then we sent him away to his sleeping quarters where he slept the whole night without partaking of any food at all. Next morning he was all right and did not talk any further about performing expiatory rite.

It is curious, that though Kānchā alleged that a deity permanently obsessed him, he neither claimed to possess any thaumaturgic or wonder-working power or powers, nor did he pretend

to be a holy man or sacred personage. He wore the ordinary dress of a Nepalese, namely, a white coat or shirt, and a pyjama. He partook of all kinds of food including meat, eggs, and fish. He performed the duties of menial servants from washing clothes to cleansing plates and dishes from which the members of the household had eaten. It is curious that the deity residing within him did not get offended or cross at his performing these menial duties.

I am recording these foregoing facts as this is an instance of curious Nepalese belief and so that others who are conversant with Nepalese religious beliefs, customs and rites, may throw further light on it.

It will not, however, be out of place to mention here that among several other tribes residing in different parts of India, priests and others, while performing some religious rites and ceremonies, become temporarily obsessed by deities and other supernatural beings.

Take for instance the Gonds of Central India. The Naikude Gonds worship Bhiwasu, who is identical with the Hindu mythic hero Bhimsena, in the shape of a huge stone besmeared with vermilion. Before it, a little rice cooked with sugar is placed. They, thereafter, daub the stone with vermilion and burn resinous incense in its honour. Then the sacrificial victims, namely sheep, hogs, fowls, with the usual offerings of spirituous liquors, are presented to the deity. *The deity is now supposed to inspire the priest who rolls his head, leaps frantically round and round and ultimately falls down in a trance, when he announces whether his deityship (Bhimasena) has accepted the worship or not.*¹

Then again, *in the ritual for expelling diseases, the dance of ecstasy plays an important part. In the dance, the person supposed to be under the direct influence of the deity moves according to some rude rhythmic measure and announces the deity's will. This religious dance is common throughout the world.*²

¹ Vide Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 54.

² *Op. cit.*, page 100.

The Airi is a famous hill-ghost and is the spirit of some huntsmen who has been killed in the forest. His temples are always situated in deserted places. A trident represents this deified spirit; and a number of surrounding stones symbolizes his followers. He is worshipped only once during the year by lighting a bonfire round which all the people take their seats. *A kettle-drum is played upon; and one after another, they become possessed and leap and shout round the fire. Some brand themselves with heated iron spoons and sit in the flames. Those who escape being burnt are believed to be truly possessed by the spirit; while those who are burnt, are considered to be mere pretenders to divine frenzy.*¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, page 154.

VII.—Dravidic Names for ‘Palms’

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.)

On page xxii of the Introduction to his Kannāḍa Dictionary, Kittel suggests that Indo-Aryan *tāla*, *tāla* (palmyra) may have been derived from a base connected with Dravidian [Kannāḍa] *tāl̥*. Kittel makes this suggestion, though he knows full well that *tal̥* of Kannāḍa meaning ‘palmyra’ ‘*Borassus flabelliformis*’ is commonly supposed to be a *tadbhava* from Indo-Aryan *tāla*. Kittel contents himself with merely making the suggestion without attempting to support his position by the analysis of the Indo-Aryan word or the Dravidian form.

Similarly on page xxiii of his Introduction he also suggests that Sanskrit *tāla* (bottom, base), a word structurally the same as *tāla* above but with a different meaning, may be allied to Dravidian *tāl̥* (beneath).

The mere parallelism in structure and meaning between the two forms cannot lead to any inference unless supported by the evidence furnished by the analysis of the forms on either side.

In this paper I propose to consider how far one set of Dravidian forms for ‘palmyra’ and ‘palm-like trees’ may be regarded as native and then to try to indicate in what direction, if at all, there may have been connexion between Indo-Aryan *tāla* (palmyra) and the Dravidian forms with the same meaning.

Dravidian forms for ‘palmyra’ or palm-like trees.

Tamil :—

tāl̥i (palmyra)—rare form, the more common words in Tamil being *penṇai* and *panai* ‘fan-palm’.

tāl̥i (different kinds of creepers, etc.)—found commonly in the most ancient classical texts.

*tāl-ai*¹ (coconut-tree)—cf. *tāl-kulai-teṅgum* (coconut-trees with bending bunches of fruits) in Śilappadigāram.

tāl-ai (fragrant screw-pine)—a common word found in ancient texts and in modern use.

tāl-am (palmyra)—a late *tt̥s.* form.

Malayālam :—

tal-a (fragrant screw-pine).

Kannāḍa :—

tāla (palmyra)—the common word is *nūngu* which literally refers (in Tam. and Kannāḍa) to the pulp of the palmyra-fruit.

<i>tāle</i>	} (palmyra)—these forms are all commonly considered to be <i>tadbhavas</i> of Skt. <i>tāla</i> .
<i>tāli</i>	
<i>tāḍi</i>	
<i>tāḍe</i>	

tāle (fragrant screw-pine, 'Pandanus odoratissimus').

Tuḷu :—

<i>tāli</i>	} (palmyra)	} These are very common forms in Tuḷu. No other common word exists for 'Borassus', while for 'coconut' <i>tālæ</i> , <i>tāræ</i> are far more common than <i>teṅgu</i> .	
<i>tāri</i>			
<i>tālæ</i>			} (coconut)
<i>tāræ</i>			

Telugu :—*tāḍu* (palmyra) no other word to denote 'Borassus'.

Kūi :—*tāri* (plantain).

Kūvi :—

tāti (palmyra).

tāḍi (plantain).

Kurukh :—*tār* (palmyra)—this form may be directly connected with NIA forms.

In regard to the above words, we shall for the present exclude from our consideration the forms which have meanings

¹ *tāl-ai* with the meaning 'coconut-tree' is rare in old Tamil, the common meaning for this form being 'Pandanus odoratissimus' or the fragrant 'screw-pine'. Cf. however, verse 17 of Puraṇānūru, where *tālai* has been equated to 'coconut-tree'. An early development of the meaning 'coconut' for this form is also attested by Tuḷu *tālæ*, *tāræ* which are in this dialect very common forms to-day.

other than 'palmyra', though we shall have to deal with them later on in the course of our discussion. We have then a number of Dravidian forms which basically resemble one another except for the character of the medial consonants. And these consonants are all related to one another in the different dialects, according to regular principles of change.

If we postulate a base like *tāl-* with the final cacuminal *-l-*, it may be considered (on the strength of analogies)¹ to have given rise to forms with *-l-* in Tamil-Kannada, with *-ḷ-* or *-r-* in Tulu and with *-ḍ-* in Telugu.

But this by no means proves the native character of the Dravidian words. It may well be that an ancient adaptation of Indo-Aryan *tāla* as *tāla* may have developed as the above forms in the different dialects.

Are the Dravidian forms native?

Proof for the native character has to be sought in the analysis of the base *tāl* itself and in the confrontation of cognate Dravidian bases with this *tāl-*.

Now the ancient base *tāl-* with the primary meaning 'to be extended, stretched' has given rise to the following forms which are undoubtedly Dravidian.

Tam :—

- tallu* (to move).
- taḷ-ir* (shoot, branch).
- tāḷu* (stalk, shoot, branch, leg).
- tāl-i* (plant-stalk).
- taḷ-udū* (bolt).
- taḷ-aī* (to branch off).

Kannada :—

- tallu* (to shove).
- tāku* (to arrive).
- tāḷu* (to support).
- tāḷu* (stalk).
- tāl-* (below) etc., etc.

¹ Vide my papers on "Tamil ḷ" [IHQ, 1929], "Tulu Verb" and "Kūi Forms and Dravidian Origins".

Telugu:—

tāl- (to bear).

talāgu (to remove).

talaru (to move).

talapu (door).

talladamu (commotion, anxiety).

Malayālam:—Almost all the forms occurring in Tamil are also found in Malayālam.

Tuḷu:—

tall-, *tāl-*, *talk-* (to shake off).

talakæ (strip of bamboo).

tali-, *taḷi-* (to sprinkle).

talir (sprout, bud).

tāl-, *tāl-* (to fall).

tāl- (to bear).

Kūi *tāka* (to walk)- *cf.* southern *tāl* (leg).

Gōṇḍi:—

taṇḍ- (to take out, to remove).

tāk- (to walk).

[*cf.* also *tāhka-marā*, the name of the long-stemmed 'Terminalia balerica'.

[-*h-* before -*k-* may arise in Gōṇḍi from -*l* or -*r*, *vide* my paper on the "Glottal Fricative in Dravidian", IA, Dec., 1930].

Kurukh:—

talakh- (to pull off).

? *tār-* (to remove).

tār- (to elongate, to stretch out).

tāl- in Tamil means 'stalk' 'trunk' 'whatever is extended' and *tāli* which denotes the names of different kinds of creepers in Tamil and Malayalam is certainly native.

If this is so, cannot this base very legitimately have been applied to the long-trunked tropical palms, including 'palmyra'? But the specific meaning 'palmyra' is *not* found for these forms in the oldest Tamil texts.

Forms meaning 'coconut' 'screw-pine', etc.

If the base *tāl-* could have denoted long-stemmed plants, it could have been applied also to long-stemmed palms like the

coconut. Tam. *tāl-ai*,¹ Tuḷu *tālæ*, *tāræ*, *cāræ* all of which mean 'coconut' may have been directly derived from the base *tāl-*.

Tamil *tāl-ai*,¹ however, is not restricted to 'coconut-tree' but is used for the 'fragrant screw-pine' in the literary and the colloquial dialects alike, and for similar trees in local colloquial usage in different districts. Let us also remember that there is a more common term for 'coconut', equally ancient, viz., *teṅgu* occurring in the southern dialects. This would indicate that the meaning 'coconut' for *tālai* is secondary.

The Dravidian forms, then, might appear to be native with the meanings: 'long-stemmed plants' 'coconut' 'screw-pine', in this family, judged by the analysis of the base in Dravidian.

The Indo-Aryan form.

IA *tala* has the following meanings: 'surface', 'level', 'base', 'bottom' and occasionally 'lock', 'bolt',² 'palm of the hand' and 'palmyra'.

IA *tāla* means commonly 'fan-palm' and 'slapping the hands'. The forms *tala* and *tāla* are not found in Vedic but only in Epic Sanskrit. Another late OIA word is *tāḍi*, the ancestor of many NIA forms signifying 'palmyra'.

Monier Williams unconvincingly derives *tala* (surface, etc.) from $\sqrt{\text{stṛ}}$, and adduces Greek *στορέννυμι* and Latin *sternere* as connected. The Pali Text Society Dictionary points out that the derivation of *tala* is uncertain but suggests a Indo-European connection by giving Greek *τετλη* (dice-board) and Latin *tellus* (earth) as possible cognates. The same dictionary suggests

¹ The cerebral continuative *-l-* of Tamil-Kannada-Malayālam confers the connotation of 'descent, mingling, etc.' The relationship of *tāl* (beneath) of Tamil, etc. to *tāl-* (to be elongated, stretched) is probably due to the introduction of this special connotation. *tāl-ai* as applied to the low-stalked screw-pine may have to be attributed to this factor. How far the same connotation accounted for the application of *tālai* to 'coconut-tree' is not clear. Cf. however, phrases like "tāl-kulai-teṅgu" (coconut with bending bunches) in classical texts.

² Cf. the IA meaning 'lock' 'bolt' of *tala*, *tāla*, with Tam. *taḷudu*, *tāḷu* [line 86, Palikkuraipukkāḍai of Maṇimēgalai]. Strangely enough, the meaning 'bottom' of IA *tala* also corresponds to South Dravidian *tāl-* (to go under). Probable Dravidian influence is possible here.

Greek $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota$ and $\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\omega$ (to be green, to sprout out) and Latin *talea* (shoot, sprout) as cognates.

Boisacq in his *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* (page 966) suggests that "Greek $\tau\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ 'table de boulanger'; 'plancher pour combats de coqs ou de cailles,' etc.) Sanskrit *tala* 'surface', 'plane', 'plat de la main', 'plante du pied', *tālu* 'palais buccal', *tulya-h* (i.e., $\sqrt{t\bar{u}}$) 'egal' 'droit'" are all connected. He also gives quite a large number of other words as being cognates with these. If then *tala* is structurally native in Indo-Aryan and if the meaning 'palm of the hand' may also be considered to be a native IA development, there would be little difficulty in the evolution from this of the meaning and of the form *tāla* denoting 'palmyra': IE $\sqrt{t\bar{u}}$ > \sqrt{telos} > *talāh* > IA *tālah*.

We have to remember here that so far as the semantic constituents are concerned, the Indo-European affinity to IA *tala* is restricted to the idea of 'surface'; the meanings 'palm of the hand' > 'palmyra' might in the above view have been evolved in India itself.

The problem as raised by the etymologies on either side.

We have seen above that the base from which the Sanskrit words *tala* and *tāla* (with the meanings with which we are concerned) are derived, may conceivably be native in IA.

At the same time we have to note that the base $t\bar{a}l$ is ancient and native in Dravidian with the meaning 'to be extended'. The following Tamil forms are found in the most ancient Tamil texts and they are all derived from the Dravidian days $t\bar{a}l$:—

1. $t\bar{a}l$ (what is extended, stalk, leg, branch)—this word with these concrete meanings is quite common in the oldest texts; it has also a metaphorical meaning, as we see from *Śilappadigāram*, *Kolaikkalakkātai*: *talai-t-tāl* (famed extensively); and *Maṇimēgalai*, *Pattiramarapukkuriyakkātai*, l. 204, *talai-t-tāl vēndan*.
2. $t\bar{a}li$ (long-stemmed plants)—cf. *Puraṇānūru*, Verse 252, line 3.

3. *tāl-ai* (screw-pine)—found in all old texts.

Further we have seen that many Tamil words formed on a *tāl-* basis with other meanings than those denoting plants, are ancient in Tamil, as they occur quite frequently in classical texts.

Three things, therefore, stand out from our discussion in regard to the problem of the relationship of the IA forms to the Dravidian words. (a) The IA meaning of *palmyra* may have been evolved by a natural semantic process in IA. (b) The Dravidian forms *tāli*, *tāl*, and *tāl-ai* signifying plants are very ancient and presumably therefore native in Dravidian. (c) But we do not have in the oldest Tamil texts any forms on a *tāl-* basis with the particular meaning of '*palmyra*'; on the other hand, the idea of '*palmyra*' is always denoted by totally different forms *panai*, *pennai* in Tamil classical texts.

Probable relationship of the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan forms.

Was the development of the meaning '*palmyra*' in Indo-Aryan entirely independent of the influence of the Dravidian forms? If it was, can we say that this Indo-Aryan meaning influenced the meaning of the derivatives of the Dravidian base *tāl-*?

Strange indeed it is that an Indo-European $\sqrt{tāl}$ 'to stretch' and a structurally similar Dravidian base *tāl* 'to be extended' should have in their semantic evolution along different lines, ultimately converged and met in the notation of a name for '*palmyra*'.

Whether Indo-Aryan was influenced by Dravidian or the latter by the former, it is difficult to say; but the following considerations might enable us to adumbrate certain viewpoints.

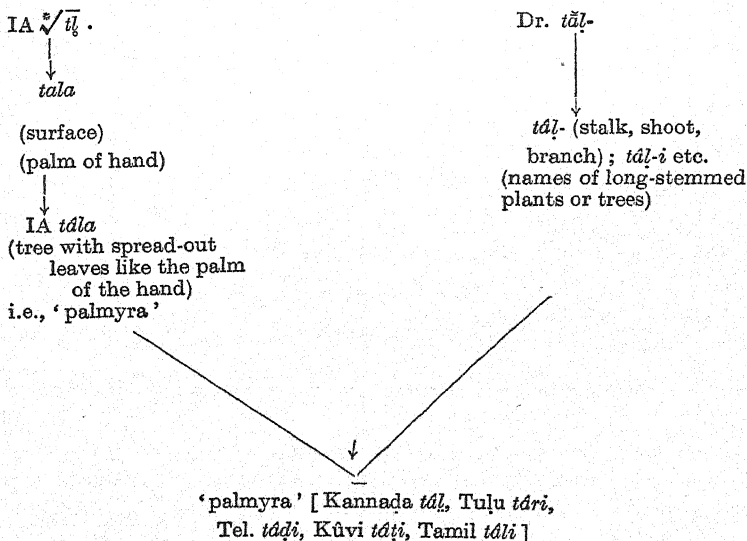
[A]

(1) Tamil, the Dravidian dialect which appears to have offered the strongest resistance to the inroads of Sanskrit vocabulary, fails to show any form on a *tāl-* or *tāl-* basis with the particular meaning '*palmyra*'; on the other hand, the most frequent form is *pan-ai* which alternates with *pennai* and *pōndai*.

(2) Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu and the central Dravidian dialects have all come under the strong influence of Indo-Aryan, and it is therefore possible that, while they originally did inherit forms on a *tāl-* basis meaning 'long-stemmed trees or plants', the idea of 'palmyra' was probably imported into words that already denoted certain other plants and trees.

The absence of forms allied to *panai* in Telugu, Kannaḍa and the central Dravidian dialects probably indicates how strong the influence of IA has been in ousting the older Dravidian word.

The perspectives we have envisaged could graphically be represented thus :—



[B]

What is the bearing on our problem of late OIA *tāḍi*, *tāḍi* 'palmyra' which has produced NIA forms with the *flapped* cerebral -ṛ-?

Prof. S. K. Chatterji has, in a kind reply¹ to my enquiry

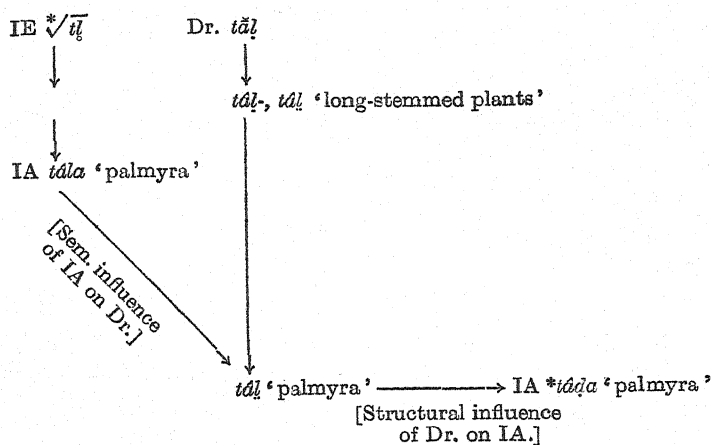
¹ Prof. Chatterji's interesting observations on this point require to be quoted here in full: "IE $\sqrt{tāl}$ might give **telos* > *talaḥ* 'surface', *tālaḥ*

on this point, made the tentative suggestion that "OIA **tāḍa* and not *tāla* [with the meaning 'palmyra'] may be the older form in IA, and that being so, a source other than IE is likely." Dravidian *-ḷ-* can change to *-ḍ-* in Dravidian itself [cf. Tel. *ēḍu*, Tam. *ēḷu* 'seven'; Tel. *kaḍugu*, Tam. *kaḷugu* 'to wash'; Tel. *kūḍu*, Tam. *kuḷu*],—and *-ḍ-* in OIA **tāḍa* may be suggested as being connected with *-ḷ-*, *-ḻ-* of the Dr. forms. It is, however, difficult to regard the meaning 'palmyra' for Dr. *tāḷ* as *original* in view of the absence in the ancient Tam. texts of this meaning for the forms concerned. It is equally difficult to resist ascribing to IA *tāla* the late association of 'palmyra' with these Dr. forms. This fact taken together with the plausibility of a native semantic evolution like 'palm of hand' > 'palmyra' in IA itself, would tend to invest IA *tāla* 'palmyra' with an individuality of its own apart from the other IA form **tāḍa*.

Could it then be that (i) *tāla* 'palmyra' was original in IA, (ii) that it influenced in *meaning* Dr. *tāḷ*, etc., and (iii) that these Dr. forms with the medial cerebral, in their turn, influenced the production of the other IA form **tāḍa* and its modern representatives with the flapped cerebral *-r-*?

'palm' (in both senses). But my suspicion is that *tāla* 'palm tree' is not connected with *tāla* 'palm of the hand' and *tāla* 'surface'. One very serious objection is in the alternative form with *-ḍ-*: e.g. Skt. *tāḍī*, *tāḍī*, whence *tāḍī-pattra*, Early Bengali *tāḍīyāta*, New Bengali *teḍet*, *teḍet* = 'a species of palm-tree the leaves of which were used for writing'; and in Hindustani and most Gangetic dialects, the word for the palm-tree is not *tāl* < *tāla* as in Bengali (but cf. Bengali *tāḍī* 'palm-wine' 'toddy'), but *tāḷ* (pronounced of course *tār*) which would be based on a MIA and OIA **tāḍa*, *tāḍī*. The basic word, I think, was **tāḍa*. OIA intervocal *-ḍ-* became *-ḷ-* and this *-ḷ-* is found in the R̥g-Veda; *-ḷ-* < *-ḍ-* might become *-l-*, but we do not have the reverse change of *-l-* > *-ḍ-* in OIA and MIA. So **tāḍa* and not *tāla* has to be taken as the older form in IA.

What is the usual Aryanisation of the *-ḷ-* sound of Dr.? **damīḷa* ^{tamīḷ} Pali *damīḷa*; but Skt. *draviḍa*, *dramiḍa* suggests *-ḷ-* > *-ḍ-*. Tam. *śōḷa* is in Asokan inscriptions *cōḍa*. So *tāḷ* > *tāḍa* > *tāla*?



NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 27th March, 1931, in the Wheeler Senate House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presiding.

1. On the motion of Mr. D. N. Sen the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1931-32 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Editor.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D., Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chawdhary, M.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT., I.E.S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Hon. Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1930-31, which was taken as read.

3. The Vice-President, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

4. His Excellency, the President, introduced Dr. Radha Krishnam, Regius Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta, who delivered a brilliant address on the subject:—

“Ancient Idealism and Modern Science.”

5. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary Secretary.

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A. B.-Ś.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or ṛī	ब	b
ऌ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	◌ (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	◌ (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
ञ	ñ	) ( (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	
ट	ṭ	◌ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ—
ण	ṇ		

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st DECEMBER, 1930.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A ..	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ..	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J. ..	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ..	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S. W. 7.
11	Sastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad, M.A., C.I.E.	1928	26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
12	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
13	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	C/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London, S. W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P. R., Bar.-at-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharmidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lahore.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ..	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhaveswarendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ..	1928	Senior Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. S. Krishnaswami, M.A., PH.D.	1916	1, East Wheldon Street, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A. ..	1926	G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur.
B			
6	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
7	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ..	1924	35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
9	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tarapada, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
10	Bhide, H. B. ..	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
11	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ..	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
12	Bose, Phanindra Nath ..	1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
C			
13	Carr, Paul Roland ..	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
14	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali-ghat, Calcutta.
15	Chaudhuri, G. K. ..	1928	Ballipur P.O., Darbhanga.
16	Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1927	Patna College, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
17	Christian, H. D. ..	1920	Sundargarh, via Jharsuguda, B.N. Ry.
18	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K. D	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
19	Das, Kali Prasad ..	1929	Barh, District Patna.
20	Das, Kasinath, M.A. ..	..	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
21	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P.O. Nimapara, Puri.
22	Das, U. K.	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
23	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A. ..	..	Post-Graduate Scholar, Rani-ghat Hostel, Patna.
24	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
25	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
26	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
27	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ..	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
28	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ..	..	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
29	Diskalkar, D. B., M.A. ..	1920	Curator, Museum of Archaeology, Muttra.
	E		
	Nil.		
	F		
30	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
31	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ..	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	G		
32	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
33	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ..	1920	General Manager, Banaili Raj, Bhagalpur.
35	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
	H		
36	Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M.A. ..	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
37	Hill, J. L., M.A. (Oxon) ..	1930	Professor, Patna College.
38	Hoeck, Right Rev. L. Van, S.J.	1921	Bishop of Ranchi.
39	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
	I		
40	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
	J		
41	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.-D.M.	1924	P.O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.
43	James, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
44	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
45	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
46	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
47	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A.	1928	Patna College, Patna.
	K		
48	Khan, K.B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khwajekalan, Patna City.
49	Khan Bahadur, Syd Md. Ismail	1928	Patna City.
50	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindi Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
51	Khuda Bakhsh, S. ..	1920	Superintendent of Police, Daltonganj.
52	Kimura, R.	1920	22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Assistant Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
	L		
54	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ..	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C.P.
55	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ..	1820	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C.P.
56	Lall, Raja P. C. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
57	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ..	1920	Patna.
58	Law, Bimalacharan ..	1921	43, Kailash Bose Street, Calcutta.
59	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
	M		
60	Mackenzie, W. ..	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantari.	1924	P.O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. . .	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari . .	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Bar.-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. . .	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan Chaplain . .	1927	The Palace, Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, Kt.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. . .	1920	D.J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakumud, M.A., Ph.D.	1917	Lucknow University, Lucknow.
76	Mukerji, Prof. A. . .	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
N			
77	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
78	Noor, The Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khwaja Muham- mad.	1915	High Court, Patna.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
79	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S.I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
80	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P. O., Godavari District.
81	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
82	Patnaik, Sudhakar ..	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, Cut- tack.
83	Peppe, A. T.	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
84	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
85	Petter, A. B.	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Samastipur.
86	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	c/o Babu Tribeni Prashad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
87	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, K.T.	1916	High Court, Patna.
88	Prasad, Kamta ..	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
89	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
90	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
91	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
92	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
93	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
94	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
95	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das..	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
96	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
98	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
99	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
100	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L.	1917	Patna.
	S		
101	Sabanis, R. V. ..	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
102	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
103	Saheb, Bhubanesvara Singh	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, B. N., B.A., C.E. ..	1926	Ghoramara P.O., District Rajshahi, Bengal.
105	Sarkar, Ganpati ..	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.
106	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
107	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
108	Sarma, Srikanta ..	1930	Zilla School, Monghyr.
109	Sen, B. C., I.C.S. (Retd.) ..	1915	c/o R. C. Sen, Esq., Electrical Engineer, Dhanbad.
110	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.).	1916	Principal, B.N. College, Patna.
111	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	57/E, Lower Kemmendine Road, P.O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
112	Sham Bahadur ..	1928	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
113	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., PH.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
114	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
115	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ..	1920	Principal, Sanskrit College, Muzaffarpur.
116	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Khatmandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
117	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
118	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Patna.
119	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
120	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
121	Singh, Rai Rajendralal Bariha Bahadur.	1916	Barsambar Padampur, Sambalpur.
122	Singh, Chaudhuri, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal.	1915	Chaudhuri Tola, P.O. Mahendru, Patna.
123	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K.V. Press, Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
124	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	K.V. Press, Patna.
125	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Taluka Madhole, Dist. Nandol, Hyderabad, Deccan.
126	Sinha, Parasnath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Bharati Publishers, Chowhatta, Patna.
127	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.
128	Sullivan, the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
129	Surya Narayan, B.L. ..	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
130	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
131	Syed Muhammad ..	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
T			
132	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ..	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
133	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Principal, C.M.S. High School, Bhagalpur.
134	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
135	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
136	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Patna College, Patna.
137	Tripathi, Pt. Narayana ..	1930	Judicial Department, Secretariat, Patna.
138	Trivedi, Rao Bahadur V. G., LL.B.	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
U			
139	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A...	1925	52, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(*concluded*).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	V		
140	Varma, S. P.	1930	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
141	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Hindi Vidyapitha, P.O. Dighaghat, Patna.
142	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. . .	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40, Leiden, Holland.

Account Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

*(Approved by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Ministry of
Education letter No. 52582, dated 14-11-1929.)*

1. The annual accounts shall be prepared under the direction of the Honorary Treasurer. For this purpose a classified monthly account showing progressive receipts and expenditure under different heads shall be prepared every month from the details of cash book; and after the close of the financial year the annual account shall be compiled from the monthly account. These monthly accounts shall be reported to the Council at intervals of not more than three months.

2. In the month of July in each year, the Honorary Treasurer shall present a statement of the income and expenditure in the preceding financial year, and shall draw the attention of the Council to such matters in connection therewith as seem deserving of notice. An estimate of the income and expenditure with details of the latter under each head for the next financial year shall be prepared and laid before the Council in the month of July of each year. Such budget estimates shall make provision for fulfilling the liabilities and for effectually carrying out the objects of the Society. The Council shall consider the estimates so submitted to it, and shall sanction the same either unaltered or subject to such alteration as shall be deemed fit.

3. The Council may, at any time during the year for which an estimate has been sanctioned, cause a supplementary estimate to be prepared and submitted to it. Every such supplementary estimate shall be considered and sanctioned by the Council in the same manner as if it were an original estimate. The Honorary Secretary is authorised to incur emergent expenditure in excess of the budget provision sanction for any one head provided that such expenditure is reported for the sanction of the Council at its next meeting and provided that

equivalent savings are anticipated under other heads of the budget.

4. For all money received by the Society, a receipt shall be granted to the payee by the Honorary Treasurer. The total amount received shall be written in words both on the receipt itself and on the counterfoil, the latter need only be initialled by the officer who signs the receipt. The forms shall be bound in books of 100 forms each and shall bear printed serial numbers. The Honorary Treasurer shall keep the stock of the receipt books in his personal custody and no fresh book shall be used until the used up one has been returned to him. All the receipts and issues of these forms shall be accounted for through a stock book to be maintained in the office.

5. All amounts so realised shall be paid into the Society's current account (in the name of the Honorary Treasurer) with the Imperial Bank of India, Patna Branch.

6. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause to be maintained a cash book in a form approved by the Council in which shall be entered as soon as the transactions occur, all receipts and payments with necessary details. The cash book shall be closed every month and a memorandum recorded reconciling the balance with that shown in the Bank pass-book. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause the latter to be made up at the end of every month; and he shall examine it to see that all the transactions have been duly entered therein. The payment of vouchers and sub-vouchers, paid out of the imprest shall be carefully preserved for production at the time of audit.

7. After payment, every voucher and sub-voucher shall be stamped with the word "paid" and "cancelled" respectively.

8. All bills presented for payment shall be checked by the accountant and passed for payment by the Honorary Secretary (or in the absence, the Honorary Joint Secretary) within the limits of the sanctioned budget estimates for the year. The Honorary Treasurer is authorised to incur expenditure on the purchase of articles not exceeding Rs. 20 in value.

9. The permanent advance in the hands of the Honorary Treasurer shall not exceed Rs. 100. This imprest shall be

recouped from time to time by the presentation of a bill supported by payees' receipts. An account of the expenditure out of the permanent advance shall be kept in a register in form VIII prescribed for municipalities in the province.

10. All claims shall be discharged either by payment from the imprest held by the Honorary Treasurer or by cheques drawn upon the Society's banking accounts in favour of the actual payees.

11. With the concurrence of the Vice-President the Honorary Treasurer is empowered from time to time to place any available balance in the Society's funds on deposit receipt in a local bank crediting the interest so accruing under the appropriate head.

12. Payment of travelling allowance and halting allowance to the servants of the Society shall be regulated by the rules in force in this respect for corresponding class of Government servants and in no case a departure shall be made except with the sanction of the Council which shall record reasons for the same.

13. An account of the sales of Journals shall be maintained in the following form :—

S. No.	Date.	Particulars of Journals supplied.	Reference to stock book page No.	To whom supplied.	Amount due.	Amount realised.	Date.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

14. The grant of leave and acting allowance to the servants of the Society shall be regulated by the rules laid down in the Bihar and Orissa Service Code.

15. The accounts of the Society shall be audited once in each year by the Examiner of Local Accounts, Bihar and Orissa.

Provident Fund Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

(As approved by the local Government vide No. 1894 E, dated 1-5-1931, Ministry of Education.)

1. A Provident Fund to be called the "Bihar and Orissa Research Society Provident Fund" shall be established from the first day of August, 1930, for the benefit of the Officers of the Society.

2. (a) Contribution to the fund will be optional in the case of officers appointed prior to the date of the institution of the fund and compulsory only in the case of those appointed after that date.

(b) Only officers holding appointments, the terms of which require them to give the whole of their time to the work of the Society, shall be entitled to become subscribers to this fund.

(c) Any officer joining the fund shall be required to sign a certificate that he accepts the rules given below :—

3. The subscription to the fund shall be $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the salary of the depositor. Voluntary contribution in excess of the limit (*i.e.*, $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the salary of the depositor) shall not be admissible. It will be calculated on complete rupees, fractions of a rupee being neglected. Such subscription shall be deducted month by month from the salary of each depositor by the Honorary Treasurer and the amount deducted shall be paid into the Society Provident Fund to the credit of the depositor. The term salary in these rules does not include any acting or other allowances granted if any. An officer on leave on full pay shall continue to pay his contribution to the fund. An officer suspended from duty shall be required to continue to contribute at his usual rate if he receives pay or allowances for the period of suspension.

4. At the end of each month a sum equal to the aggregate amount subscribed to the fund during each month shall be contributed to the fund by the Society, and, subject to the condition contained in the proviso to this rule, such portion of that

amount so contributed as shall be equal to the amount deposited by each subscriber during the month for which contribution was made shall be placed to the credit of the depositor.

Provided that no officer of the Society, who shall, in the opinion of the Council, be guilty of dishonesty or other gross misconduct shall be entitled to the benefit of, or to receive any part or share in, any amount any time contributed by the Society to the fund on his account or the accumulated interests or profits thereof; and the Society shall be entitled to recover from the amount contributed by it to the fund on account of any officer and the accumulated interest or profits thereof a sum equal to the amount of any loss or damage at any time sustained by the Society by reason of his dishonesty or negligence.

Provided further that no officer shall be entitled to receive any part or share in any sum contributed by the Society and the accumulated interest or profits thereof unless he has been in the service of the Society for at least twelve months and has been permitted by the Council to resign his appointment.

5. The fund shall be managed by means of the post office savings bank system, a separate account being opened by the post office for each contributor. Interest will be allowed on the deposits at the rate from time to time allowed for the deposits in the post office savings bank. The officer's contribution together with that of the Society shall be deposited in the post office savings bank nearest the Society's offices. The money shall be sent by the Hon. Treasurer and a certificate signed by him, that the contribution due in respect of the pay for any month has been paid, shall be attached to the next monthly bill. The Hon. Treasurer shall send with the money to the post office savings bank the different pass-books concerned and a statement in the following form :—

Name of the institution.....

Month of.....

Account number as in the pass-book.	Name of subscriber.	Monthly pay of subscriber.	His contribution.	Society's Contribution.	Amount of advance re-funded.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		TOTAL	..			

The money received in the post office shall be credited to the different accounts, in accordance with the entries in the statement; and the postmaster, after satisfying himself that this has been done and that the amount of the deposit has been correctly entered in each pass-book, shall sign the statement, stamp it with the post office date stamp, and return it with the pass-books to the Hon. Treasurer. The latter shall be required to compare the entries made in the pass-book with the entries in the statement to see that the former are correct.

6. Should a contributor so desire, the whole or any part of the balance at the credit of his account may be invested in post office cash certificates. The application form for purchase of the certificate will be signed by the officer on whose behalf the investment is made and also by the Hon. Treasurer in his official capacity as the manager of the provident fund. The cash certificate will be issued in their joint names and will be discharged only on both parties signing the application for discharge. Any certificate so purchased shall be deposited with the Hon. Treasurer of the Society. The transfer of these certificates, or of their cash value, to the contributor will be subject to the same conditions as the withdrawal of deposits from the savings bank account.

7. Deposits shall be permissible at any time so that if, owing to the temporary absence of a depositor or for any other cause, the contributions of one or more individuals cannot be

deposited at the same time as other contributions, they can be deposited singly or collectively at a later date, a separate list being sent along with the pass-books in the manner described.

8. Contributors to the fund, on whose behalf accounts are opened under the provisions of this scheme, shall not be deprived of their right to open ordinary private accounts in the post office savings bank.

9. The savings bank account shall be closed at the time the depositor retires or for other legitimate reasons withdraws his deposits. The savings bank pass-book shall, after closure, be delivered to the Hon. Treasurer of the Society. An application to close an account or to withdraw any advance sanctioned shall be supported by the sanction of the Vice-President.

10. The Hon. Treasurer of the Society shall be responsible for the safe custody of the pass-books and for the stamped statements received back from the post office. He shall also keep a register showing any advances made, and the sums recovered on account of them.

11. Subject to the provisions of the proviso to Rule 4 of these rules a depositor shall be entitled upon quitting the service of the Society to draw out and receive the whole amount standing to his credit in the fund. But when the pecuniary circumstances of a depositor are such that the indulgence is absolutely necessary, a temporary advance or loan, not ordinarily exceeding three months' pay may be allowed from the sum at his credit with the sanction of the Council. The following may be recognized as legitimate occasions for such advances or loans:—

- (a) To pay expenses incurred in connection with the illness of a subscriber or of a member of the family;
- (b) to pay for the passage of any member of a subscriber's family coming from beyond the seas to join him or requiring to make a journey beyond the sea from some urgent cause;
- (c) to pay expenses in connection with marriages, funerals, or ceremonies which by the religion of the subscriber it is incumbent upon him to perform and in connection with which it is obligatory that expenditure should be incurred.

Note.—Advances, though not confined rigidly to the objects laid down in clauses (a) to (c) above, will be made with due regard to the principles contained in those clauses and regulated with regard to the amount of subscription lying to the credit of the applicant.

When one or more advances have already been granted to a depositor a subsequent advance shall not be granted to him, except for strong reasons to be recorded in writing by the Council, until at least twelve months have elapsed since the complete repayment of the last advance taken.

Advances will be recovered at the discretion of the sanctioning authority in not less than twelve instalments or more than twenty-four. A subscriber may, however, at his option, make repayment in less than twelve instalments or may repay two or more instalments at the same time. Recoveries will be made monthly, commencing from the first payment of a full month's salary after the advance is granted, but no recovery will be made from an officer while he is on leave of any kind. The instalments will be paid by compulsory deduction from salary and will be in addition to the usual subscriptions. No interest shall be recovered on advances.

12. Every depositor must register in the books of the fund the name of the person to whom he desires, in the event of his death or his becoming insane, the amount of the deposit to be paid.

13. The byelaws, etc., should be made with Government sanction.



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[PART IV.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Śakastan, the Country of the Sakas. Its Possession by the Ancient Persians.

By Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., Ph.D., LL.D.

The name of Śakastan, on the frontiers of Hindustan, the country inhabited by the Śakas, whose defeat at the hands of an Indian king has given us our Śaka era, is originally Persian. When written in Pahlavi, it can be read as Śakastān or Sagastān or Seistān. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his learned and interesting article (Jour. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, Parts III and IV, pp. 227 ff.), entitled "Problems of Śaka-Sātavāhana History", while noticing Dr. Sten Konow's conclusion on Śaka history, says: "I believe with Prof. Thomas that the Śakas had been in Śakastān long before 160 B.C. and they certainly existed there in the Persian period". The object of this paper is to present, in brief, a few notes to show, that Śakastān was under the sway and influence of the ancient Iranians for a long time anterior to 160 B.C.

Śakastān, or the Śakas, are not directly mentioned in the

(1) Reference in the
Avesta.

Avesta, but, a mountain *Ushidarena* is mentioned as the seat of Zoroaster's later revelations.¹ In the *Yaçna* where

¹ Hormazd Yasht 28; Jamyad Yt. 2.

mountains are invoked in general, this mountain is specially mentioned.¹ The Avesta does not say where it was situated, but the Pahlavi books help us in fixing its situation.

The Sirouzâ Yasht (s. 26) associates the Ushidarena mountain (gairim Ushidaranem) with the Yazata (angel) Âshtâd (Arshât). The Pahlavi Dâdistân-i-Dini associates mountain *Aushdashtâr* with the Yazata *Âstad*.² So, we find that the Pahlavi *Aushdashtâr* is the same as the Avesta Ushidarena. Again, the meaning of both the names is the same. *Ushidaréna* literally means "holder (*daréna* دارنا) of intelligence (*ushi* Pahl. *aušh* Pers. *Hush* هوش). The Pahlavi name *Aushdâstâr* also has the same meaning. Now, the Pahlavi Bundelesh (Ch. XII, 15) places this mountain under its name *Aushdâstâr* in Sagastân (Śakastân Kuf Hûsh-dâstâr pavan Sagastân."³ Thus, we see that the very mountain, associated with the sacred musings of Zoroaster, was in Śakastân and the ancient Iranians were in possession of it.

Sir Aurel Stein identifies this Ushidarena mountain with the modern Kuh-i Khwaja.⁴ He goes further and says, that the great Rustam, the national hero of ancient Iran, was, latterly, in the Buddhist times, raised to the dignity of a Bodhisattva.⁵

¹ Yaçna I 14; II 14; III 16; IV 19; vide XXII 19, XXV 7; Sirouza Yasht 26. Vide my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names, p. 44.

² T. D. Anklesaria's Text, Ques. 39, p. 57, Chap. XXX, 2. S.B.E., Vol. XVIII, p. 62. Vide Gujarati translation by Tehmuras D. Anklesaria with my Introduction, p. 54. Here, the Translation gives the Avesta name as Garoish Ushidaréna.

³ Vide my Gujarati Translation and Translation of the Bundelesh, pp. 40-41; S.B.E., Vol. V, pp. 37-38; Justi's Bundelesh, Text, p. 23, l. 8.

⁴ Inner Most Asia II, pp. 92-3.

⁵ Vide his article "A Persian Bodhisattva" in the Memorial Volume in honour of Prof. Geiger (Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger (1931), pp. 266 ff. Vide the article, "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan" by M. J. B. Barthoux in the Annual Biography of Indian Archaeology (1930), p. 6. Vide my Gujarati Article in the Hindi Graphic of October, 1931.

Coming to the Achaemenian times, we find Saka mentioned by Darius (d. 485 B.C.) in his Behistun Inscription,¹ as one of the countries which had come under his authority.

Darius says: "Imā dahyāva tyā manā patiyāisha; washnā A'uramazdāha adamshām khshāyathia āham"² i.e., "These are the countries which came to me. By the will of Ahura Mazd, I am king of them". He then names the countries, one by one, and Saka is one of them.

The position of Saka in the list of his countries, as given by Darius in his Inscription, is next to Gandara, the country near the Indus. So, there seems to be no doubt that it is Śakastān or Seistān, the country of the Śakas, that is meant.

In the ancient ruins excavated by the French Archæological Mission at Haddah near Jalalabad about 340 stupas, out of the original 1,000, have been excavated, and about 3,000 statues and statuettes also are excavated. Some of the pilasters there are said to present "Achaemenian reminiscences". This shows that Śakastān was under the influence of the Achaemenians.³

Coming to Pahlavi books, the Dinkard (Bk. VII, Ch. IV, 31-35)⁴ refers to one of the ministrations of Zoroaster as occurring in the land of Śakastān. This is a reflex of what we saw in the Avesta, that there, a mountain in Śakastān is referred to as the place of Zoroaster's sacred musings.

The following Pahlavi books also refer to Sagastan:—

- (a) Bundelesh (Ch. XII 9, 15; XIII 16; XX 17, 29; XXII 5; XXIV 28).

¹ (a) Jour. Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. X, Part I. The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, by Major Rawlinson. Transcript, p. I, l. 16. Translation Col. I, par. 6, p. XXVII. (b) Spiegel's Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften (1881), pp. 4-5. (c) Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, Transliteration, p. 55; Translation, p. 118.

² Tolman. Transliteration, p. 54.

³ Vide the above article entitled "Recent Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan", in the Annual Biography of Indian Archæology (1930).

⁴ S.B.E., XLVII, p. 57.

(b) Zadsparam (Chap. VII 7, 9).

(c) Bahman Yasht, Chap. III 19.

They refer to Śakastān as belonging to Persia from olden times. One may, perhaps, say that these Pahlavi books are of later times. But, we must remember, that, though written in later times, they rest on older authorities. For example, the Bundelesh commences the beginnings of many of its chapters as "Imallūnēt pavan din", i.e., it is said in books of religion.

We find from the Persian Nāmeḥs, like the Shāh-nāmeḥ and Barzo-nāmeḥ, that Rustam, the above
(4) Persian Books. referred to national hero of Iran, is spoken of in contempt as a Saki or Sagi, i.e., one belonging to Sagastan. The word 'sag' in Persian means a dog. So, playing, as it were, a pun upon the word *sak* as *sag* (dog), Rustam is jeered at, as a *sak* or a *sag* (dog) by his enemies. This shows that Rustam who is associated with the history of the Kaiyanians belonged to Seistan; and so, Śakastān belonged to the Iranians from early times.

II.—A Contemporary Picture of the Mughal Court in 1743 A.D.

By Jadunath Sarkar.

INTRODUCTION.

The invasion of Nādir Shāh (1739) dealt a shattering blow at the imperial Government of Delhi, which had been really rotten at the core for several years past, though its outward semblance of power and dignity had hitherto deceived the world. It is true that Nādir Shāh before his departure from India restored the Emperor Muhammad Shāh to his throne (metaphorically and not literally, as he took the Peacock Throne away); but he could not infuse life into a dead and worn-out political institution. No attempt was made by king or noble to restore vigour and purity to the public services, to enforce order in the realm, or to promote the wealth and happiness of the people, after the terrible havoc of the late foreign invasion. Matters grew even worse than before under the fatuous policy of the Emperor and the Wazir to shut their eyes to every unpleasant reality and to let matters drift. This state of things is indignantly described in a contemporary history, but in general terms. Muhammad Shafi' Tehrāni (pen-name Wārid), whose youth had been nurtured in the dignified and strenuous reign of Āurangzib, writes in the bitterness of his soul about the times of Muhammad Shāh,—

“For some years past it has been the practice of the Imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or of Gujrat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, with a view to soothing his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens—to look at the newly planted and leafless trees—or rode out to the plains to hunt; while the grand wazir, ‘Itimād-ud-daulah Qamr-ud-din Khān, went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools, situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and Wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business

of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people, while these disturbances daily grow greater." [*Mirāt-i-Wāridāt*, text, pp. 117-118.]

A most graphic illustration of this condition of the Imperial Government is furnished by the news-letters of the Delhi Court in 1743, of which 19 sheets have survived in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (E. Blochet's *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans*, tome i, MS. No. 613, Suppl. 313,—

(اخبارات دربار معلی) They contain 36 days' occurrences from 20th April to 29th May, 1743, with no record for four of the days (22nd and 23rd April and 8th and 9th May). We here get a vivid picture of the Court and character of Muhammad Shāh—his childish love of flowers and fruits, his absorbing fondness for animal combats and amusements, his utter indifference to public business. Like king, like minister. The grand wazir, Qamr-ud-din Khān 'Itimād-ud-daulah, was a good-natured drunkard whose only policy was never to contradict his master, but to humour him in every matter and helplessly let things go their own way all over the empire. [*Ashub*, ii. 422.]

These news-letters also contain very useful details, with exact dates, of Raghuji Bhonslé's invasion of Bengal and Bihar, the arrival of the Peshwa Bālāji Rāo in Bengal at the Emperor's invitation to drive Raghuji out, and the occurrences at Patna (including a big fire),—though we miss the coming of Safdar Jang, the Nawāb of Oudh, to Patna (c. 7 Dec. 1742—c. 14 Jan. 1743),—which last event caused the consternation among the people of the city so graphically described by the eye-witness Ghulam Husain Tabatabai in his *Siyar-ul-mutākhharin*, [Pers. text, printed ed. of 1833, ii. 127-129.]

NEWS-LETTERS OF THE IMPERIAL COURT.

Year 25 of the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

[Up to the end of April, my translation is full; thereafter only the important entries have been translated here.]

20th April, 1743 (*old style*).

One and a half hours after sunrise, the Emperor came to the Hall of Select Audience; 'Umdat-ul-mulk [Āmir Khān],

Āsad-yār Khān, 'Itimād-ud-daulah and the Mir Ātish had their audience. After discussion (*jawāb-sawāl*) [with them] His Majesty went on foot to the window [of morning salute], looked at a *mast* elephant sent by Sher Jang, talked with Firuz Kh., and at four hours after dawn retired to the *harem*. The nobles sat down in the anteroom (*pesh-khānah*), conversed among themselves and then went away.

Hādi 'Ali Kh. was ordered to newly construct (*i.e.*, repair?) the base of the window of Āsad-burj and to tie up there one other elephant, as His Majesty would to-morrow inspect the food of the elephants.

Murtaza Kh. presented one cup (*katora*) of silvered copper (*mis-i-sufaid*) and Āsad-yār Kh. four lotus flowers. His Majesty bestowed a bunch (*duna*¹) of roses on the Wazir-ul-mulk.

In the afternoon the men who had come for audience (*mujrāiān*) were dismissed. One *mast* elephant sent by Sher Jang was present below the *jharoka* (window); His Majesty ordered that Hādi 'Ali Kh. should send the officers (of his department) to the base of the *jharoka*, as he would inspect [it] the next day.

It was learnt from the news-letter (*navishta-i-harkārah*) of Bengal ending with 8th March, 1743, that Mahābat Jang [Alivardi Kh.] was in the fort [of Murshidabad] when he learnt that Raghuji [Bhonslé] was present in the district of Rāmgarh and that all the inhabitants of Murshidabad were removing their household goods and families to all sides in fear of [the coming of] the enemy. Mahābat Jang, with 25,000 cavalry and 40,000 foot musketeers (*barqāndāz*), was ready heart and soul to fight the enemy and would not show the least remissness in chastising the enemy so long as a breath remained in his body. The envoy of Bālāji Rāo [the Peshwa] had arrived near Mahābat Jang and would depart for his own master in a day or two.

Hakim 'Alavi Kh. had started with the elephants and other things [of Bengal] for the Imperial Court. It was now reported

¹ *Duna* is a basket made of large leaves for holding flowers, etc., and not exactly a bunch.

that, in view of [the presence of] the enemy, he was probably intending to cross the Ganges and take the route *viâ* Gorakhpur.

21st April, 1743.

One and a half hours after dawn, His Majesty came to the Select Audience mounted on a portable throne; Āsad-yār Kh., Sādāt Kh., and Ishāq Kh. had their audience. Two and a half hours after dawn he entered the *harem*. From the *jharoka* of Āsad-burj His Majesty beheld a wrestling match between an elephant named "Pādishāh 'Ināyet" presented by the Mir Ātish and the elephant of Sher Jang. They fought well; Pādishāh 'Ināyet defeated the elephant of Sher Jang. After looking at it, he retired [to the harem] at 3½ hours from the morning. He said that the elephant of Sher Jang was approved and should be kept in the [imperial] elephant stables. One *mohar* was granted as a reward to the elephant-driver in the service of Sher Jang and two *mohars* to the officers of the imperial elephant department.

Wajih Kh. begged for one quire (*dastak*) of Zirābādi paper for writing five *surahs* [of the Qurān] and medicinal prayers (*ādi'ya*). The Emperor ordered S'ad-ud-din Kh. to give it from the library department. In the afternoon the men who sought audience were sent away.

One deer hunted and presented by Qāim Jang and two baskets of flowers sent by Wazir-ul-mulk were received.

Sādāt Kh. came; through the medium of the Paymaster he applied for making his bow to the Presence and sent in a written petition. After it had been submitted to the Emperor, he bestowed on the Khan one *duna* of cucumber (*khirā*) and mangoes and one tray of the Emperor's own food.

24th April, 1743.

One and a half hours after daybreak, His Majesty came to the Select Audience. The physicians, Āsad-ud-daulah, the Mir Ātish, 'Itimād-ul-mulk,¹ Āhmad Kh., Qāim Jang, and afterwards 'Itimād-ud-daulah and others, presented themselves. After

¹ Should be *I'mād-ul-mulk*.

conversation, the Emperor went on foot to the *jharoka* and looked at a tiger kept in a cage and an elephant presented by Qizilbāsh Kh. Five hours after dawn he entered the harem.

Md. Ghaus presented a copy of the Qurān on the occasion of his interview, through 'Itimād-ud-daulah. The Emperor took him by the hand. Qāim Jang presented seven *mohars* on the occasion of his interview and said that Zīāullah had a horse which was used to fighting with elephants, and that there were also bears which wrestled well. The Emperor ordered them to be brought before him.

Hādi 'Ali Kh. presented a spoon of jasper (*yasham*), and Fakhr-ud-daulah and Rājah Beni Bahādur each some *ketaki* flowers.

Jānis Kh. presented five *mohars* on the occasion of the commencement of His Majesty's birth-month. He was ordered to remain standing at his own place (*pāia*) [at Court].

His Majesty ordered the Physician Royal to go and treat S'ad-ud-din Kh., wife's brother of Āsaf-ud-daulah.

In the afternoon, at six hours of the day His Majesty came on foot to the *jharoka*, looked at an elephant presented by Qizilbāsh Kh., saw the effect of fire-wheels and rockets discharged [round it], talked with Hādi 'Ali Kh., and retired to the harem.

Hādi 'Ali Kh. had presented five pigeons, one of which was approved. A robe of honour consisting of three pieces was bestowed on Md. Mahdi 'Ali, the superintendent of the elephants of Sher Jang, as a favour for the presentation of the elephant.

25th April, 1743.

One hour after sunrise His Majesty came to the Select Audience. The physicians, Āsaf-ud-daulah, Hari Kishan, Qāim Jang, and 'Itimād-ud-daulah with his sons were presented. After inspecting, at the foot of the *jharoka*, the elephants and other animals, he retired to the harem at six hours of the day.

Raushan 'Ali, the crack rider (*chabuk sawār*), displayed before His Majesty 30 horses and 12 deer sent by Mahābat Jang, the Governor of Bengal, and presented one *mohar* on his own behalf. He was given a robe of three pieces.

Md. Murād Kh. was sent to the shrine of Hazrat Qutb-ud-

din with Rs. 200 for supplying cooked food to the *darvishes* [there] for the Emperor's health.

Qāim Jang presented one *ketaki* flower and Ishāq Kh. three of the same and two or three *siwti* flowers. Some of the *siwti* flowers were bestowed on 'Itimād-ud-daulah.

Jugal Kishor reported that on 28th March¹ Mahābat Jang, after interview with Bālāji Rāo, had marched out towards Katwa for the purpose of punishing Raghuji Bhonslé, while Raghuji had gone towards Birbhūm.

Qāim Jang brought before the Emperor a leopard (*chita*), a horse and an elephant that used to fight together, also three pairs of bears, one goat, one ram, and one wild boar, after wrapping them in tiger skin, and made them fight the elephant.

The Wazir and other [nobles] were presented.

Khush-hāl Chand placed before His Majesty one sword, seven bows, nine *thāns* of European cloth, one turban, and one horse, presented by Md. Ghaus, the successor at the shrine of Hazrat Bahā-ud-din Zakariā of Multān.

Some pairs of wild bears sent by Qāim Jang arrived; they were ordered to be brought to the foot of the *jharoka*.

26th April, 1743.

One hour after daybreak, His Majesty came to the Select Audience. 'Itimād-ud-daulah, Āsad-ud-daulah, and others were presented. After conversation...the Emperor retired to the harem.

A chart of the lunar eclipse drawn up by the astronomers of the *jantri* (Observatory at Delhi?) of Rājadhirāj [Sawāi Jay Singh] showing that it would occur in the first part of that night, was placed before the Emperor by Khāwind Kh.

Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and a water-melon; the latter was bestowed on the Wazir. The petition of the sons of Jamāl Kh. deceased for *jāgir* was placed before the Emperor

¹ The text has *sezdaham Safar* [=28th March], which is clearly a copyist's error for *Shanzdaham Safar* [=31st March], the latter being the date of the interview according to the Bengal Factory Records. *Siwti*,—white rose, *Rosa glandulifera*.

by the Wazir. *Parwānahs* for the jāgirs were ordered to be given to the heirs.

In the afternoon the courtiers were sent away. From the news-letter of *Bengal* ending with 9th April it was learnt that—when Mahābat Jang, after marching from the neighbourhood of Āmāniganj, had reached the stage of Chauki Mānkara, at the distance of five *kos*, he received the news that Bālāji Rāo [had reached] the bank of the Bhāgirathī, five *kos* from the army of Mahābat Jang by successive marches, [therefore Mahābat Jang sent] Ghulām Mustafa, his *jamā'dār*, and Gangā-dhar Rāo and Amrit Rāo the envoy of Bālāji to Pilāji Jādon, the commander of the vanguard of Bālāji Rāo; so that Pilāji Jādon came and saw Mahābat Jang; they talked for two hours and oaths and assurances were exchanged, after which Pilāji took leave and departed. Mahābat Jang marched on and encamped at Lāwda, at a distance of three *kos*, from which the encampment of Bālāji Rāo was three *kos* distant. Mahābat Jang erected tents midway and went to these tents for the interview. From the other side, Bālāji Rāo started with Pilā Jādon, Malhār Holkar, and other officers and 40,000 troopers. When [he] arrived near Dāudpur, Mahābat Jang sent Ghulām Mustafa Kh. in advance [to welcome], and rode out from the tents. Arriving opposite each other, they dismounted from their elephants, embraced, and sat down together in the tent. After conversation, Mahābat Jang sent away the Rāo, presenting him with four elephants, two buffaloes, and five horses.

27th April, 1743.

Two hours after daybreak the Emperor came to the Select Audience. S'ad-ud-din Kh., Taqi Kh., 'Itimād-ud-daulah, and his sons were presented. After talking he left for the harem at three hours of the day.

Himāyet-ullah Kh., son of Dil-dilir Kh. deceased, presented one *mohar*, through Roz-āfzun Kh., on the occasion of his interview.

Hayāt Kh.,....Rs. 2,324....laid before the Emperor¹....

¹ The text is confused here.

roses from the garden of Furhat-āfzā; they were entrusted to Roz-āfzun Kh.

The Emperor said, "The *āhadis* complain against the Paymaster and demand the appointment of some other Paymaster. But it is impossible. They ought to go to Sādāt Kh., if not, other [soldiers] would be engaged in their places, because other bodies [of troops] may make similar complaints against the *dāroghas*.... As ordered by me they ought to go to Sādāt Kh."

In the afternoon Rājah Khush-hāl Chand had audience. [The other] people who had come for interview were sent away.

Khwājah Maqbul, the deputy of Hāfiz Kh., was honoured with a robe of three pieces as a favour for the construction of the cistern, pigeon-house (*kābak*) and other things for the pigeons near the porch (*deorhi*) of the Āsad-burj.

The following things sent by Roz-āfzun Kh., on the occasion of the lunar eclipse, were ordered to be distributed in charity [*tasadduq*]-two discs of gold and silver, three water-fowl, one *mohar*, four pieces of used apparel from the Emperor's wardrobe, one horse, one cow with its calf, ghee and oil, and other things.

One basket of flowers sent by the Wazir was received.

28th April, 1743.

Two and a half hours after dawn, the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall. Āhmad Kh., 'Ali Zamān, Qāim Jang, and Āsad-yār Kh. were presented. After conversation, he left for the harem at four hours of the day.

Āzam Kh. presented two *mohars* (at his interview), Ishāq Kh. two *ketaki* flowers and a *duna* of *phālsa* [*Grewsia Asiatica*], and Rājah Kishan Nārāyan a *duna* of *āluchah* [small plum].

Rāo Kesho Rāo showed a sheet reporting that Mahābat Jang, in company with Bālāji Rāo, was pursuing Raghuji Bhonslé.

Qāim Jang presented a petition and 7 falcons (*bāz*), 13 hawks (*jurrah*), 2 *gadasur* (?), 3 rams, and 4 elephant tusks sent by Rāja Hari Singh, the Zamindār of Toli at the foot of the hills. The animals were entrusted [to him] to be trained (*taiār*). [Toli, 30 miles n.n.e. of Hardwar.]

A letter and baskets of flowers were received from the Wazir.

In the afternoon, the people who had come for interview were sent away. A basket of vegetables sent by Ishāq Kh. was presented, and one tray of the Emperor's own food was bestowed on the Kh.

It was learnt from the news-letter of the province of *Oudh* dated 6th April,—Ābul Mansur Kh. was staying at Faizābād; having appointed Idrāk Kh. *jamā'dār* for pressing the payment of the revenue due from the Zamindar of Utraula, he had sent letters to the *tābinān* (contingent) of the *faujdār* urging the realization of the money. The son of Rāi Jagat Nārāyan, the brother of Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan, who had gone to Balāmau for marriage, had been at this time presented by Safdar Jang with four pieces of cloth, and with three pieces for each of his three companions. He had also appointed 'Abdullah and Mir Lutfullah his own friends (*mu'izzān*) as *faujdār* of fort Rohtās and given to each of them four pieces of cloth.

29th April.

Half an hour after dawn the Emperor started in a portable throne to visit the Ānguri garden. 'Itimād-ud-daulah, 'Imād-ul-mulk, Sa'd-ud-din Kh. and Āsad-ud-daulah had interview; after conversation [with them], the Emperor entered the garden and, going through it, returned, entering the *harem* at four hours of the day.

Md. Āsa'd Kh. and Md. Āmjad Kh., the sons of the late Āhmad Quli Kh., each presented one *mohar* through Mahmud Kh. on the occasion of their interview. A robe of three pieces was bestowed on each and they were ordered to stand in their proper places. Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and one fish sent by Bahroz Kh. The fish was bestowed on Hushmand Kh.

Rājah Jugal Kishor presented two deer—out of the twelve sent by his master of which ten had died on the way—and made his bow.

Rāo Mahādeo Pandit, the agent of Bālāji Rāo, on the occasion of his audience offered five *mohars* which had arrived after

some days. A letter from Bālāji Rāo was submitted through the Wazir, stating that—he had met Mahābat Jang and the two had marched in concert for punishing Raghuji, and many of the captains accompanying Raghuji had separated from him and fought among themselves, [many] Marathas had been drowned in the river Ajay [MS. reads در دریای اجانب هراشی] and that Bālāji Rāo and Mahābat Jang were pursuing.

In the afternoon, the men who had come for audience were sent away. Two trays of consecrated biscuits (*kāk*) of the 'urs of the shrine of Qutb Sāhib, sent by Mir Kh. the *mutawali*, were presented. Two baskets of flowers sent by the Wazir were received.

30th April.

Two hours after dawn the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall. I'timād-ud-daulah, I'mād-ul-mulk, and Sa'd-ud-din Kh. interviewed him; after some talk he left for the harem.

Qāim Jang presented one *ketaki* flower, four black cuckoos (*Cuculus*), one each of *mania*, parrot, *shyām*, *hir*, *jal* and *pilak*, and two *surkh*¹. These were entrusted [to]. He asked for orders about the two deer out of those arrived from Bengal. The Emperor ordered them to be given to Na'mat-ullah Kh. Qāim Kh. reported that he had some wild partridges (*kabak*). These were ordered to be brought to the Presence.

'Imād-ul-mulk was ordered to summon the *āhadis* and reason with them.

Ishāq Kh. presented two *ketaki* flowers and one bunch (*duna*) of *sivti* flowers.

In the afternoon, the men who had come for audience were sent away. One tray of pudding and musk-melons (*sarda*), sent by the collector of the market (*karora-i-ganj*), and one

¹ *Mania*, little birds (L. *Fringilla amandava*). *Shyāmā*, a small singing bird with black plumage. *Hir* or *hirāman*, a kind of parroquet. *Jal*, probably *jalpachchhi* or water fowl. *Pilak*, a pretty little bird called the oriole or mango-bird. *Surkh* or *surkh-āb*, a species of lark, or a species of the bird *Anas Casarca*.

basket of water-melons (*kharbuza*) sent by Khāwind Kh., were presented.

From the letter sent by the *harkārah* of the province of *Bihar*, dated 5th April, it was learnt that Zulfan [Faīyāz] 'Ali Kh., the *naib* of the city, was in the citadel of the fort [of Patna] and urged Bhojrāj, the *peshkār*, to pay expenses to and quickly send away the men who were to reinforce Isma'il Beg, the 'āmil of parganah Sarisā¹. A letter was received from Haibat Jang [Zain-ud-din Āhmad Kh.] to engage one hundred Europeans, Dutch and others, and send them, so that their descriptive rolls may be drawn up. A letter was received from Isma'il Beg, 'āmil of parganah Sarisā, to the *naib* of the province reporting the tumult raised by the rebel Zamindars of Chikwāra; after reading it he sent it to Haibat Jang. One hundred and ten troopers and 500 barqāndāz were appointed to punish them. 'Ali Kabir Kh., with one elephant and two *jhālar-dār pālki*s presented by the Emperor, reached Patna on 27th March, and took a pass under the seal of Haibat Jang excusing him from the *rāhdāri* tax. Bhojrāj, the *peshkār* of the *nāib* of the *nāzim*, had gone to Masih-ullah Kh., the *diwān* of the province, who gave him three pieces of cloth at his leave-taking.

1st May, 1743.

Two hours after dawn the Emperor went to visit the garden of Firishtah-ābād..... Travelling by way of the Ānguri bāgh and the *reti* of the river, he arrived at the garden of Ja'far Kh. at four and a half hours of the day, travelled through it, and entered the Firishtah-ābād garden, visited it and returned at six hours of the day [to the garden of Ja'far Kh.]; at seven hours he entered the *harem*.

Hayāt Kh. presented an European pen of jasper studded with gems and two *munhnāl* [mouth pieces of the *hugga* tube] of plain crystal.

2nd May.

It was learnt from the news-letter of *Kashmir*, dated 19th March,—Ābul Barkāt Kh. had gone to Shālamār on a visit;

¹ *Saris*, 16 miles south of Dehri on Sone.

he pressed the peshkārs for the *hundis* of the Hazur, so that the bankers (kuthidārs) produced *hundis* for Rs. 10,000 and promised to pay Rs. 10,000 more in a few days. Sharf-ud-din Md. Kh., the nāib Bakhshi of the province, pressed for the equipment of the *mansabdārs*, saying "the *mansabdārs* do not keep with themselves the proper supply of horses and arms, but by fraud get the *tashiha* (verification certificate) signed by the *āmin dārogha* and *mushrif*. Although, thanks to the fortune of the Emperor and the admirable efforts of Ābul Barkāt Kh., the enemy in the hill country have been punished, yet if, God forbid it ! Your Highness has occasion for war and the *mansabdārs* at the time of need have no horse or arms ready, it would be a cause of disgrace. Especially, conducting the administration of the kingdom according to the regulations, urge the office of the bakhshi [to make them] come taking the horses and arms with themselves."

3rd May.

4th May.

The Emperor came to the foot of the *jharoka* and looked at the preparation of lamps for the illumination.

Rāo Kesho Rāo reported the news of the army of Bālāji Rāo up to 1st April, thus:—Bālāji, with Pilāji Jādon, Malhār Holkar, Rānoji Sindhia and other generals, marched on 31st March from a distance of five kos from Maqsudābād after interviewing Mahābat Jang. Zain-ud-din Āhmad Kh. and Mustafa Kh., sent by Mahābat Jang, had come to Bālāji Rāo for discussion. Bālāji had sent them back to Mahābat Jang, along with Amrit Rāo, his confidential agent.

5th May.

The Emperor came on foot to the *jharoka* and looked at the dancing and singing of the beggars (*du'ā-goyān*).

6th May.

The Emperor came on foot to the *jharoka* and witnessed the mimicry of the buffoons (*bhānd*).

7th May.

Nobles offer their presents at the beginning of the fortieth year of the Emperor's life.

The following things were distributed as propitiatory alms (*tasadduq*) as recommended by the astrologer [royal] Har Sahāy:—one mohar, one picture, one rice of gold and one disc of silver weighing 16 tolaḥs, 400 *tanga*, one hundred beads of a rosary, one *shāl*, two *bāfta thāns*, red cloth, one brass bowl, 2 pitchers of yellow oil (= *ghee*), seven *man* of grain, one *ser* of dried grapes and sugar-candy each, and a quarter *ser* of red sandal-wood.

10th May.

From the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Bihār* ending 11th April, it was learnt that—

Faiyāz 'Ali Kh., the *nāib* of the *subah* was in the fort; he received a letter from Zain-ud-din Āḥmad Kh., stating that at that time Mahābat Jang was marching from Katwa towards Pachet in pursuit of Raghuji.

Balāji Rāo was leading the vanguard, and he [*i.e.*, Zainud-din Āḥmad] had been sent off to Patna with a strong force and was day and night advancing by the Murshidabad road. The *nāib* should write urging the Zamindars of the districts of Makha, Main¹ [مكه , مين], etc., to be on their guard lest Raghuji in his flight should come in the direction of Gayā and that district. The *nāib* had accordingly sent letters to this purport to various places.

Patna letter of 7th April reports that, one *prahar* from the dawn, all at once a most severe devastation began; from *mahalla* Gorath to *mahalla* Sehuli, for a distance of one *kos*, the flames rose high; so that thousands of the houses of the citizens and thousands of animals and men, women and children as well as household property, were burnt and reduced to ashes.

¹ *Main* is probably *Moy* in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, sheet 2, the country immediately south-west of Gidhor. For *Makah* I suggest *Gumah*, modern Gomoh; گندومی.

11th May.

Three hours after dawn the Emperor came to the Select Audience Hall, and after conversation with the nobles retired to the *harem*. The nobles remained in the Audience Hall, while the Emperor from the window of the Rang-mahal witnessed the combat of a pair of *ārna* (wild buffalo) and took his meal. Then a tigress sent by the Wazir was let loose in the *bāwar* (arena enclosed with nets); the buffalo caught the tigress on its horns and flung it down on the ground; then the elephants which the Emperor used to ride were made to charge the tigress. The Emperor after witnessing this show, entered the harem at five hours of the day. It was reported from *Bengal* under dates 16th and 17th April that—‘Alivardi Kh. was at Katwa, Bālāji Rāo whom he had given *conge* had gone by way of Birbhum, gained victories, and moved towards Gayā. Raghuji had again come to Medinipur and sent his agent to the Nāzim of Bengal demanding payment of the money of his *chauth*; the two parties were discussing the matter. The camp of Mahābat Jang was set up in that direction. After this affair had been decided, the revenue ¹ [of Bengal will be] despatched.

12th May.

Āskar Rāo, the *harkārah* of the chakla of *Gwalior* reported news dated 29th April thus: The little fort of Kaliāni, belonging to Hamir-dev Jat, zamindar of Bijhnaur, was very strong. Up to this time no faujdār, by reason of the abundance of the forces and *material* of the enemy, had taken any step to punish this rebel. But Haqir Kh., faujdar, after nine days' fight had singly delivered an assault and slain the foolish wretches, the rest of the garrison had fled away. The faujdar had established his own outpost in this conquered fort. This affair had become the cause of terror to all other rebels in that region.

13th May.

Khiyālī Rām, son of Bābu Rāi, presented a *duna* of *āluchah* [small plum].

¹ MS. illegible and partly damaged here.

14th May.

[1st Rabi'-us-sāni] 26th regnal year begins. From the letter of the *harkārah* with the army of *Āsaf Jāh*, dated 15th March, it was learnt that—

Āsaf Jāh had marched out of Arcot on 4th March towards the fort of Trichinopoly and on 14th March arrived near Tapāl-garh,¹ eight *kos* from that fort. If Murār Ghorparé, the Maratha general, who was in the fort, should come to see the Nizam and surrender the fort, so much the better; otherwise, he would lay siege to it and fight. He had bestowed a robe of honour and horse on Dharmrāj, the zamindār of Tirupati, and sent him back to his estate.

15th May.

Four nobles presented *mohars* on the occasion of the Emperor's riding on horseback after some months.

16th May.

It was learnt from the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Biḥar*, dated [blank] Rabi'-ul-āwwal, that Faiyāz 'Alī Kh. was in the citadel of the fort. He had sent Rs. 1,700 to Haibat Jang in response to his demand. It was learnt from couriers that Haibat Jang, after taking leave of Mahābat Jang, had reached Sakrigali on 14th April. The nāib of the city had appointed Ālnawās Beg Kh. and others with 100 troopers for escorting Dr. 'Alavi Kh.—who was coming from Murshidābād with the elephants by way of sarkār Purnia—to go wherever the Dr. might be and bring him to Patna in safety.

17th May.

The Mir Ātish and Malik Hirā were ordered to remove the Emperor's own horses from the tents of the stables to the rooms of the mansion of Dārā Shukoh and the garden of *Firishtah-ābād* and keep them there, because there was a great fear of fire breaking out.

Rājah Jugal Kishor presented a letter from Mahābat Jang, stating that on 18th April Bālāji Rāo took leave of Mahābat

¹ There is a *Taga-garh* in this region, but too far off.

Jang for his home and that Raghu had moved towards the Deccan.

18th May.

The Mir Ātish submitted a list about the salary of the men of the artillery department of which the sixth month [of arrears] had commenced. After reading it the Emperor entrusted it [to ?].

Rāo Kesho Rāo, the *harkārah* of the army of Āsaf Jāh, reported under date 31st March, that—

Āsaf Jāh had reached Trichinopoly from Arcot by regular marches and established his trenches round the fort. In this fort, Murār on behalf of Fath Singh the Bhāi of Rājah Sāhu, with 2,000 troopers and 4,000 infantry was ready for fight; he held abundance of artillery *material* and provisions, and was discharging cannon from the fort on the men in the trenches. The trenches had reached close to the fort, which would be soon conquered.

19th May.

20th May.

It was learnt from the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of Bihar dated 21st April, that—

A letter from Haibat Jang to Bābar 'Ali' has been received, stating that he would reach Sarāi Rāni, 10 *kos* from Patna on 2nd May; [Bābar 'Ali] should send Chetrām jamā'dār, as he would go to the town of Bihār in order to make a pilgrimage to the holy men. The aforesaid man was sent. Hakim 'Alavi Kh., with five carts loaded with [the treasure] sent by Mahābat Jang and Saif Kh., the faujdar of the subah of Purnia, had taken leave of the nāib-i-subah, and after crossing the Ganges had started for the Presence. 'Ali Quli Kh., the *āmil* of Tirhut, had reached the city (*balda*) and after meeting the nāib of the city had gone to Haibat Jang as called. Mir Haidar 'Ali, the *kotwāl* of the city, and Āminchand, merchant, and other inhabitants of the city had gone to see Haibat Jang.

The *naib-i-subah* had got the news that Bālāji had on 15th April taken leave of Hisām-ud-daulah ['Alivardi] and was com-

¹ Probably a slip for *Faiyāz* 'Ali.

ing by way of Birbhum to Gayā to perform the customary religious rites.

21st May.

22nd May.

Kesho Rāo, *harkārah* of the subah of *Haidarābād*, under date 1st April, reported that—

Nur-ud-din Kh., the *nāib-i-subah*, had engaged in the pursuit of Trimbak Hari and Tukā Pāndhré [?] two Maratha generals—who had been roving in the districts of Koilkonda and Medak at a distance of ten *kos* from the city, displayed great activity, and after fight with arrows and bullets and the slaying and wounding of men on both sides, he had expelled them from the subah. The Maratha generals had gone to the kingdom of Bijapur.

23rd May.

The royal physician reported that Dr. 'Alavi Kh. may have arrived at Āllahābād. The Emperor ordered him to verify it.

24th May.

Rāi Kishan Nārāyan laid before the Emperor one *duna* of *āluchah* and seven boxes of *āluchah* sent by Saif-ud-daulah.

'Itimād-ud-daulah reported that Hādi 'Ali Kh. and other imperial astronomers had last night come to him, according to order, along with Pedro Firingi, Md. Dāud, Sundar, and Murli-dhar, astronomers, and Dayārām Kahār [? Kothāri] of Rājah Jay Singh, who had come from Jaipur with a telescope and other apparatus which show the true positions of the stars; so that, the Wazir and the astronomers had looked at the stars and the moon, and the positions of the stars were found to be as they had said, and not in accordance with the manner laid down [in the books ? بقسمی که ارشاد شد]. The imperial astronomer also entered into the discussion.

In the letter of the *harkārah* of the province of *Oudh* dated 22nd April, it was reported that—

Ābul Mansur Kh. was at Faizābād; he had sent Md. Muhasan, *risāladār*, to reinforce 'Ali Rustam Kh., the faujdār of Khairābād. It was reported that 'Ali Rustam Kh. and the *risāladār* had attacked the Banjāras.....who had raided the

villages of Khairābād on the further side of the river Ghāgra; they had killed some men and one general of the enemy, and the rest had fled away; three or four men in the Muslim army had been slain and wounded, and the plundered property had been seized.

The *nāib-i-subah* intended to cross the river. And Taqi نواحی [?], after settling the district of Sultānpur, came with some *jamā'dārs* and saw Safdar Jang and laid before him the gold and silver coins [recovered ?]. Safdar Jang praised him.

Pedro Firingi, the astronomer of Rājah Jay Singh, interviewed and presented one *mohar*. The Emperor said that first the Wazir should look at the stars through the telescope sent by Rājah Jay Singh and report to the Emperor, and thereafter if His Majesty was so inclined he would look at the stars. Therefore, the astronomers of the Rājādhirāj and those of the Emperor went to the Wazir with Khush-hāl Chand.

25th May.

26th May.

It was learnt from the news-letter of the province of Oudh dated 23rd April, that—

Safdar Jang had given robes to Fath 'Ali Kh. the *dārogha* of *Dāgh* and *tashiha*, Rājah Bhank (?) the *dārogha* of the artillery, and Kh. Md., the envoy of Sher Jang; he had sent five pieces of cloth and some jewels to each of Sami'ullah Kh., the *faujdar* of Banswāra, and Sayyid Sulaimān Kh., the *faujdār* of the *mahāls* of the royal road. Rāi Hari Prasād, the *mutasaddi* of *khānagi*, had been presented with four pieces of cloth on the occasion of the death of his son. Mir 'Atāullah, the *wakil* of Jaykishan, and Prān Nāth, the envoy of 'Umdat-ul-mulk, and Dayārām, the *wakil* of the Rājādhirāj, Vankāji and Bābu Pandit, the *wakils* of Rājah Sāhu and Raghuji, had come for discussion. The *wakil* of Saif-ud-daulah had arrived [there] with some *chintz* cloth and *pashmina*.

27th May.

28th May.

From the news-letter of Bengal dated 27th April, it was learnt that—

Mahābat Jang, by successive marches from Dignagar¹, had arrived at Katwa on 24th April, and was halting to get news about the enemy. He was making entrenchments on all three sides of the inhabited portion (*ābādi*) of Katwa up to the river Ajay. The news was brought to him that Raghuji with 'Ali Qarāwwal, Bhāskar and other generals had reached the further side of the territory of Mānbhum and Sānūijhūm سانوي جهوم in the jungle of Silāghāti on the skirt of the hill (*dāman-i-koh*)—which extended from Medinipur to the west and south up to a distance of 30 *kos*,—and alighted in the direction of Sambalpur; that Bālāji Rāo with Malhārji Holkar and Pilāji Jādon, had arrived near Pachet by successive marches, and advancing 8 *kos* from that place had dismounted.

Jānaki Rām, the *peschkār* of Mahābat Jang, and Amrit Rāo, the son of Bālāji Rāo's diwān, had reached Murshidabad and seen Shahāmat Jang, so that Nawāzish Muhammad Kh. Bahadur Shahāmat Jang presented one elephant, one horse, and three pieces of cloth to Amrit Rāo, the son of Bālāji Rāo's diwān, and three pieces of cloth and one horse to Narsingh Rāo, the *wakil* of Bālāji Rāo.

29th May.

¹ Dignagar, 32 miles south-west of Katwa.

III.—The Effects on the Aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.,
M.L.C.

Culture-contact, though not the sole nor even the main factor in cultural evolution, is yet a potent element in the process of cultural advance. Contact with Western Civilisation has considerably contributed to the cultural development of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, though it has complicated their social conditions to some extent and has not been altogether free from certain undesirable influences.

In order to form a proper estimate of the effects of the contact of the aborigines of Chōṭā-Nāgpur with Western culture it is necessary to begin with a short history of their social, religious, intellectual and economic condition before they first came in contact with the people of the West towards the beginning of the last century.

I. Chōṭā-Nāgpur and its People prior to British occupation.

The aboriginal population of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau comprises three main tribes, viz., the Austric-speaking Mūṇḍās and their kinsmen the Khāriās, and the Dravidian-speaking Orāons. The Mūṇḍā-group also includes a few small minor tribes, such as the Birhōrs, the Kōṛwās and the Asūrs and Birjiās. The principal tribes, viz., the Khāriās and the Mūṇḍās have been settled agriculturists probably ever since they entered Chōṭā-Nāgpur centuries ago, and so they are recognised as the Bhūiṇhārs and Khūṇṭkāṭṭidārs or the original reclaimers of the parts of the plateau that they respectively occupy. They have been for centuries accustomed to the regular use of the plough and plough-cattle and the practice of terrace cultivation. Of the minor tribes mentioned above, the Birhōrs and the Kōṛwās, have been till now mostly nomads living chiefly on roots and tubers gathered with the help of digging-sticks and occasionally

on the precarious spoils of the chase, and the Asūrs or Āgoriās and Brijiās who used and still use to smelt iron in a primitive fashion and, here and there, have taken to a sort of shifting agriculture.

The three principal tribes, with their comparatively higher cultures, lived, as they do at present, in permanent houses, made and used certain rude wooden furniture and even certain metal ornaments and better food and better clothing than their fellow-tribes. The latter still roam about in the jungles for the greater part of the year and construct temporary leaf-shelters to protect themselves from the rain and the wind and have very little clothing and still less ornaments.

The religion of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribes was a crude system of spiritism or animism which, in the case of the more primitive tribes, partook more of the nature of a vague animatism in which the soul or spirit is hardly discriminated from the body or the object it inhabits; and a strong belief in 'magic' and witchcraft was common to all the tribes. Hindu influence which began slowly to penetrate into the plateau from the Sixteenth or the Seventeenth century affected the religious ideas of the aboriginal population to some extent.

The social, socio-political and intellectual progress of these tribes kept pace with their respective economic condition. The Mūṇḍās, the Khāriās and the Orāoṇs had well-organised villages with their secular and sacerdotal headmen and staffs of village servants and judicial and administrative committees of village-elders known as Panches. They went further and confederated several villages together into socio-political groups known as *Pārḥās*. These *Pārḥās* had their own staff of office-bearers and their own *Pārḥā*-Panches who acted as higher courts of appeal. The more primitive tribes,—though they, too, like their more advanced neighbours, were organised in patriarchal totemistic clans,—had to wander in small bands in search of their daily food. This necessarily consumed all their energies and left them little leisure or energy for social and political progress.

It is not necessary for our present discussion to trace the origin and history of these and other tribes before they entered Chōṭā-Nāgpur and to enquire whether those arts of civilisation,

such as agriculture, village organisation, Pārḥā organisation and so forth, which they have long possessed, were evolved by themselves or were acquired by them through contact with the Aryan or other communities with whom they might have come in contact in their former homes.

The three larger and comparatively more advanced tribes had, as I have said, long settled down into agricultural village communities. Each village brotherhood was a proprietary body owning all the lands inside the village boundaries. For purposes of mutual support these village communities, as I have said, came to confederate themselves into groups called Pārḥās; and each Pārḥā group acknowledged an administrative head known as the Mānki and a social head known as the *Karīāhā* besides subordinate office-bearers under them.

As the uniform traditions of these tribes indicate and the traditions of the Mahārājā's family suggest, in course of time, an uncommonly gifted and ambitious leader secured precedence over the other Pārḥā-heads, acquired the authority of a Chief and the title of King or Rājā.¹ This new king (whose descendant is now the Mahārājā of Chōṭā-Nāgpur), although receiving "aids" or tributes from the different village communities was a "leader" of the people and not "owner of the land" and did not in the beginning think of making any claim to the position of "landlord" until, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, his successors came in occasional contact with the outside world,—with some Hindu kings beyond their borders and with the Musalman Emperors and Generals. These latter, from time to time, compelled the Jhārkhaṇḍa (now Chōṭā-

¹ Mr. G. K. Webster, then Manager of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Estate, in his Report to Government dated the 8th April, 1875, wrote of the origin of the Rāj family—"Notwithstanding their alleged divine origin, there is small question that they were Mūṇḍās or aborigines. The tradition allows that Phani Mukut Ray was taken charge of by a Mūṇḍā Rājā and chosen as Mahārājā, as he showed qualities which were more than mortal. There is still a yearly festival held at Sutiambe, at which the descendants of the Mūṇḍā family set up their umbrella, and until this is securely planted it is not allowable for the Mahārājā's umbrella to be unfurled." *Agrarian Report of the Ranchi District, Vol. II, pp. 33-4.*

Nāgpur) Rājās to pay tribute, and thus effected a change in the spirit of their regal dreams.

The Rājā gradually became Hinduised, and, from the latter half of the Seventeenth century, began to introduce Hindu Āmlās (officers) and Brāhmaṇ priests from outside and made assignments to them of his own customary right to the aids or "supplies" from a number of aboriginal village communities. These alien assignees made unceasing efforts to acquire real rights in the villages by breaking down their communal nature. At length they succeeded in reducing in many villages the body of aboriginal peasant-proprietors to the position of tenants or Raiyats. The beginnings of landlordism were thus for the first time introduced into the country. The Rājā, now transformed into an orthodox Hindu and Nāgbansī potentate, or rather his grantees (jāgirdārs), started and vigorously carried on a ceaseless campaign against the ancient village communities, and, in many parts of the country, attained more or less complete success. At times, the original village communities were driven to rebellion. Such were the successive risings of the Mūṇḍās in the years 1789, 1797, 1807, 1812 and 1819-1820. But still more aliens were brought in by the Nāgbansī Rājās, and the aboriginals were more or less overpowered into some sort of submission, and, finally, about 1820, a swarm of Hindu and Mahomedan mercantile adventurers from Upper India and Bihār were introduced as lessees (thikādārs) over the heads of some Mūṇḍā village-proprietors. Thus goaded to desperation, almost the entire aboriginal population of the district rose up in arms against the alien "landlords" in 1831-32. It was then that the attention of the British authorities, stationed in those days at Sherghāṭi (now in the Gayā district) far away from the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau, was seriously attracted to the miserable plight of the aboriginals.

With the introduction of a more direct system of administration in 1834, British officers first began to take an active part in the administration of the country. It was then that for the first time the aborigines of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau began to come in contact with Western ideas and Western methods of administration,—executive, legislative and judicial. Some years

later, a further contact with Western civilisation was established when Christian missions and missionaries appeared in Chōṭā-Nāgpur.

Thus, the two main channels through which Western cultural influences reached the native population of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are, first, the channel of British administration and British officials, and, secondly, the channel of European Christian missions and missionaries. I shall now proceed to discuss separately the effect of each of these principal agencies of Western cultural influences upon the indigenous civilisation of the country.

II. *Effects of British Administration on the Native Population of Chōṭā-Nāgpur.*

As we have seen, the nomadic forest tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, such as the Birhōrs and the Kōṛwās, lived, The Wild Tribes. as they still do, mainly, if not wholly, on forest produce and on the spoils of the chase. With the opening up of the country by roads and railways under British rule and the gradual deforestation of the country and ever-increasing restrictions on the use of the forests, these forest tribes are slowly but surely dying out, partly from famine and partly from loss of interest in life. No attempts have been made by setting apart reservations for them or by inducing them by grants of lands or otherwise to take to agriculture, or by appointing special officers, as has been done in certain parts of Australia for example, to look after their welfare and protect them from ultimate extinction. Each decennial Census shows their population as steadily dwindling down, and it will not be long before those tribes will be extinct, with the exception of the very small proportion of them who as "Dihi-Kōṛwas" and "Thānia Birhōrs" have settled down as cultivators of land. These tribes have hardly come in contact with Western civilisation at all, and the effects of British rule in the land has so far proved unintentionally harmful to them.

As for the more numerous and well-organised tribes, they too have, since the advent of British rule, suffered a good deal through the introduction of English ideas of land-lordism and through the ignorance of earlier British officials of

The Agricultural Tribes.

the origin and history of land-holding in Chôṭā-Nāgpur and the habits and customs, language and mentality of these aborigines, and through their earlier policy of *laissez faire*. In spite of all this, however, the effects of British rule upon them and of contact with Western civilisation, have proved beneficial to them in several ways. I shall confine myself to these principal tribes,—the Mūṇḍās, the Khāṛiās and the Orāons,—who are essentially agriculturists and whose economic welfare depends mainly on a suitable agrarian policy. As the economic history of these tribes is really the agrarian history of the country they inhabit, it will be necessary here to enter in some detail into that history. The salient points in that history I shall present, as far as possible, in the words of the British administrators themselves.

Although Chôṭā-Nāgpur nominally came under British rule with the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā in 1765, it was not until the thirties of the Nineteenth century that the British Government actively interfered with the internal administration of the country or even stationed any British officer, civil or military, in the Chôṭā-Nāgpur plateau. It was first included, in the year 1780, within the Rāmgarh Collectorate. Until then, the plateau, or what is now the Rānchi District and the Lātēhār Subdivision of the Palāmau District, only used to receive an annual visit from the British Magistrate of Rāmgarh who had his headquarters alternately at Chātrā and Sherghaty, both places being over a hundred miles distant from the Chôṭā-Nāgpur plateau.

The first available report of such annual official visits is that of Magistrate Cuthbert, bearing date the 21st April, 1827. He wrote:—"The pergunnah of Chota Nāgpur is about 95 miles long and 80 broad, and is bounded on the North by the pergunnah of Ramghurh, to the south by Gangpur in Singhbhum, to the east by the Zillah of Jungalmahals and to the west by Soorgooja. A large portion of the Pergunnah is uncultivated and its aspect Hilly and Jungle, but there are parts highly productive and well peopled.

The Rāmgarh Collectorate Period [1780-1833].

Collector Cuthbert's Report (1827).

"It would be foreign to my purpose ... were I to enter into a detailed account of the petty wars, internecine commotions, murders and disturbances which have agitated this Perganah even to a late period.....

"The Jagirdars (with few exceptions), have always been considered a turbulent description of people, and their dependants although depressed by them do whatever they desire from the mere habit of obedience which they have been taught to consider due to their immediate superiors and are frequently excited by them to plunder their neighbours. Many complaints were made to me against this class of people during my stay even on their Estates, and had I been able to remain longer, in all probability the number would have increased, as people were shy at first in coming forward, and it was only after residence of some days at a place, that they venture to complain. The greater number of complaints do not prove groundless and one Jagirdar in particular was convicted of a series of oppressions. The half-deserted villages which I so frequently met with evinced to my mind the oppressive conduct of these people as landholders." ²

As the scanty materials furnished by such reports of hasty annual visits do not afford an adequate view of the country and its history prior to any real contact with Western civilisation and the influence of effective British rule, I shall quote extracts from a few later and comparatively more exhaustive official reports.

Dr. Davidson's Report (1839).	The history and agrarian condition of the aboriginal population of the plateau, prior to the establishment of the "South Western Frontier Agency" in 1834, when an officer desig-
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nated as "Agent to the Governor General of India" was first appointed and stationed at what is now the town of Ranchi with a Principal Assistant stationed at a place called Lohardaga, 47 miles west of Ranchi, is thus set forth by Dr. Davidson,

² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, Vol. VIII, pp. 407-416; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-34.

the then Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent in charge of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) District, in a report dated the 27th August, 1839 :—"The great mass of the population of Nagpur (Chotanagpur) known by Europeans under the names of Coles (Kols), consists of Mundas, Kharias and Oraons. The uniform tradition states that the Mundas originally cleared the country and brought it into cultivation. There was no Rajah of the whole country, which was divided into Parhas or batches from 15 to 20 villages each under a Rajah. It is impossible now to say what these Rajahs received from their subjects, most probably only assistance in war and *Salami* (presents) at festivals. Finding, I suppose, this system of managing the country by means of so many Rajahs did not answer, the Mūndās elected the ancestors of the present Palkot family³ to be Rajah of the whole country, since when 62 Rajahs of that family are stated to have sat on the *Gaddi*. The Rajah's family and friends pretend they were Rajputs at the time of the election, but there can be no doubt that their ancestor was a Mūndā, and the family prospering, they managed by force to get married into the Rajput families of Pachete and Singhbhoom, and eventually into others, and now pass for as good Rajputs as any in India.

"The remains of the former system of the Cole (Kol) Rajahs are still visible... They have still their Parhas and nominal Rajahs... The custom in those remote days was that whoever cleared the land became the owner of the same, free of rent, only in return rendering to the head of the villages such services as the common good required....

"To enable the Palkot Rajahs to keep the peace and carry on the wars in which they were constantly involved, a certain rent from each village (or rather group of villages) came gradually to be paid, but the right of property of the head Mundas of the villages appear to have been long recognised.

"On the Palkot (Rajah's) family becoming Hindoos and regularly marrying into the neighbouring Hindoo families, it became a great object with them to induce other Hindoos to

³ Since removed from village Palkot to village Rāntū, and known as the family of the Mahārājāh of Chōtā-Nāgpur.

settle in (Chota-)Nagpur. The only mode of doing so, in their power, was to grant villages, by which means all the *suds* or foreign proprietors in (Chota-)Nagpur have been established. Baraiks, Rajputs, Brahmins, Routias, etc., are all foreigners brought in by the Palkot family as a sort of military force to enable them to support themselves against the neighbouring Rajahs, and also to control the Coles (Kols). . . .

“In all the various changes of rulers in India, no Government seems to have interfered with the internal management of (Chota-)Nagpur until our own times No attempt was ever made to interfere with the police or administration of justice, which was left entirely to the Rajah. The consequence was that only those of the original heads of the villages, who were strong enough to inspire fear such as those in Sonpur, etc., were able to keep their villages; the others were entirely dispossessed and replaced by the *Suds* (alien Hindus) or their villages resumed by their Rajah himself.”⁴

In 1834 a system of Zamindary Police and court of Justice were established in Chotanagpur. But these too did not help the aborigines. In the same report of 1839 Dr. Davidson wrote, “In point of fact there was no regular police or administration of justice in (Chota-)Nagpur till the present Agency was established in 1834; that they (the Kols) are frequently imposed on by their landholders is not for want of comprehension, but that they have been so long completely left to their mercies, and so entirely deprived of any protection from them, that it is difficult for them to make up their minds to resist.”⁵

“It often happened that the unfortunate Kol, who with difficulty made his way to the far off station, found the tables turned on him when he got there. A posse of witnesses in the pay of the opposite party were already on the spot, prepared to prove ‘that he had not only no rights to the lands, but was a turbulent rebel besides’.”

Dr. Davidson, in his report already referred to, wrote,—

⁴ Letter No. 247, dated 27th August, 1839, to the Governor General's Agent. *Vide The Mundas and Their Country*, by S. C. Roy (1912), pp.191-93.

⁵ *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX, *Chota Nagpore*, p. 14.

"A reference to a regular suit is not at all applicable to a Cole, and, if so ordered, in nine out of ten cases the powerful zamindars will thereby be able to defeat the poor Bhooinhars." In that report Dr. Davidson showed, to quote the words of Bengal Government Resolution, dated the 25th November, 1880, that "the Kols were continually being deprived of their lands through the oppression and machinations of the Jaghirdars and thikadars, and that the facilities already afforded them for getting justice were not sufficient." With regard to the ordinary ryots or unprivileged cultivators, Dr. Davidson noted in the same report,—“The *theekadar* or owner of the village has no right whatever by the established custom of Nagpur (Chōṭā Nāgpur) to take a higher rent from the cultivators of the Rajhas than they have been in the custom of paying..... The contrary to this is often done, and from ignorance or timidity submitted to by the ryots but every unprejudiced person allows it is contrary to justice and the custom of the country.”⁶

Another report gives the following graphic account of the unfortunate situation,—“From this time the fight between the two races, the Hindus and the aborigines in Chutia Nagpur took another form, that of calling in the aid of the Police and the courts of law, an arena on which the Hindus soon became the masters of the field; for the police were chiefly men of Behar, the same province the Zamindars had originally come from and, in the courts their own language, Hindi, was spoken, besides their having more intellectual power and pecuniary means than the Kols. The latter, almost accustomed already to the position of a down-trodden and half-enslaved race, received a severe shock from the mighty grip of the English militia and lay prostrate at the feet of their Zamindars and Thikadars.”

Colonel Dalton who was Commissioner of Chōṭā Nāgpur from 1857 to 1871, on a review of the facts, had to write in 1871 that “it was after the Kol rebellion of 1831-32, and during the administration of the South-Western Agency that the greatest disturbance of peasant proprietary tenure occurred”.⁷

⁶ *Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Reports*. Part II, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Thus the change in the method and centre of administration, though an administrative improvement, far from checking the expropriation and economic degradation of the indigenous population, did in fact facilitate and hasten it. It was next to impossible to administer effectively an area of about 12,500 square miles of country, full of hills and jungles, from a single centre. And so the Rājā (now Mahārājā) of Chōṭā-Nāgpur and particularly his Jāgirdārs and Thikādārs went on merrily with their campaign of self-aggrandisement at the expense of the aborigines of the country; and 'landlords' of various degrees were created by the Mahārājā and placed over the heads of the aboriginal peasant proprietors.

In 1853-54, when Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, then a Member of the Board of Revenue for the Lower Provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) came on a tour of inspection to Chōṭā-Nāgpur, he found that, "In Chotanagpur the *Bhooi* (Bhūiñhārs or the descendants of aboriginal founders of villages) has land which exists in every village, have been exposed to the rapacity of the middlemen, aliens who are hated by the people, and who to obtain these lands, spare no species of force or fraud;— . . . against these our courts do not afford any facile remedy, and the day may not be distant when the people, goaded beyond endurance, may take the law into their own hands." His report continues, "To protect these under-tenures is therefore not only as a duty important, but it is also essential to the permanent tranquillity of the country. . . . But it cannot be concealed that it must be a hopeless contest between a middleman of any degree and a Zamindar in charge of the Police. However carefully his rights have been ascertained and recorded, if the Zamindar Daroga is resolved he shall go, he must go; his ruin may be effected in a hundred ways, and if he resists, *will* be effected, though the officer-in-charge of the District be his friend. . . . It is said to be useless to examine the files with a view to ascertain whether there have been any contests between the alien Thicadars and the indigenous tenantry inasmuch as the tenantry, seeing that

The South-Western
Frontier Agency
Period [1834-1854].

Ricketts' Report
(1854).

the contest was hopeless, have for the most part yielded the field without a struggle; that the class of indigenous village Zamin-dars is gradually, or rather quickly, disappearing in that character, though still existing as discontented ryots brooding over their wrongs." He adds, "With alien farmers, alien Omlah, and alien subordinates in all Departments over them, doubtless the Kols must have much to endure." Mr. Ricketts accordingly recommended that "the Governor General's Agent be directed to select, at random, a small purganah of Chotanagpur and to direct his assistant to ascertain by careful enquiry, what has become of the original village-holders of every village in that purganah... whether they are still in possession, if not, when they were dispossessed, and what has become of them... Ultimate measures must depend on the result of the investigation." ⁸

The investigation, thus recommended, was indefinitely postponed. But shortly after his visit to
 Commissionership Chōṭā-Nāgpur, in 1854, the form of ad-
 Period (1854-1931). ministration was changed and the South-

Western Frontier Agency was replaced by a Commissionership for the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Division, and regular Civil, Criminal and Revenue courts were established. Although in the beginning a simple set of rules was formulated for the guidance of Courts, gradually, however, one after another, the laws and enactments in force in Bengal, Bihār and Orissā and suited to the more advanced people of those regions came to be introduced in backward Chōṭā-Nāgpur to the further disadvantage and discomfiture of the aboriginal population. Although a partial survey and records of one class of lands, namely Bhūinhāri, were made in 1869-80, they only touched the fringe of the trouble. Though it checked one form of aggression it opened or rather widened the door to other forms of invasion of the ancient rights of the aboriginal holders of lands and villages. The investigation into the condition of the aboriginal village-holders and the preparation of the complete record-of-rights was not undertaken until more than

⁸ *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX, *Chota Nagpore*, pp. 14-15.

twenty years later. And, in the meantime, through inadequate knowledge of the British officials and their Indian subordinates, of the history of land-holding in the District, and the inappropriate application of the principles of English law and ideas of landlordism to a country where the history of land-holding has been altogether different, incalculable mischief was done to the rights of the aboriginal peasant proprietors. And thus from their former position of joint holders of villages (though holders of the plough as well) they were gradually reduced to the position of mere holders of the plough and hewers of wood and carriers of burdens for the alien usurpers of their former rights.

The fundamental mistake committed by the British authorities was to assume that the relationship of the Mahārājā of Chōṭā Nagpur with the aboriginal village communes was one of feudalism, that the headmen of these communes were "vassals" and "tenants" who held their villages as "fiefs" from the Mahārājā, and that the Mahārājā was the absolute owner of the soil. The real facts are, however, quite the other way. The Mahārājā and his Jāgirdārs never had nor have an absolute right to the villages. The ancestor of the Mahārājā, as all official reports agree in finding, was elected by the aboriginal village communes (who themselves continued to remain as the real owners of the soil) to be their paramount "leader," "war-lord" and not "*land-lord*", who derived his rights, limited as they then were, from them and not *vice versa*. Occasionally some British official, like Colonel Dalton, who had lived long in the District had a glimmering of this truth. And Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who paid several official visits to the District and made special enquiries, remarked in the *Quinquennial Report of the Administration of Bengal* (1903-08), "In Chotanagpur the landlord is not the absolute owner of the land".

Although the attacks on the old communal nature of the villages and of the proprietary rights of the aboriginal village-communes appear to have commenced from before the beginning of the British occupation of the country, it was greatly facilitated by the uncertainty and the

The Unsuitability of
a Complicated Administrative and Judicial System.

lack of control of the earlier years of British rule, and, not less so by the ignorance and apathy of the courts and some administrative officers of Government from the beginning up till recently, and in many cases up till the present, as also by the existing administrative and judicial and legislative system which are not at all suited to the aboriginal tracts of India. Now and then a sympathetic officer, like Dr. Davidson or Colonel Dalton, with long residence and experience in the District realised to some extent the real situation and felt for the wrongs done to the aboriginal land-holders. But the majority of the earlier officials (such as Gordon, Robinson, Taylor, Renny, Mangles and others) who either had no time to study the agrarian history and peculiar agrarian customs of the country or paid no particular attention to them and, in a few cases, perhaps had no sympathy with the unfortunate aboriginals, lent a ready ear to the representations of the landlords who alone could have easy access to them. British feudal ideas of landlordism also prevented most officials from probing into the root of the trouble.

The frequent risings of the aboriginals were represented to the officials by the landlords and other interested people as the work of turbulent *dacoits* (robbers and brigands) and *chūhārs* (lawless rowdies). When one reads of such scurrilous accusations (not unknown even at the present day) against the aboriginal tenants of Chotā Nāgpur, one is reminded of the French sarcasm "*cest un méchant animal. Il se défend quand on l'attaque*". (**"This is a wicked animal. It defends itself when it is attacked."**) All this misled the officials; and the pendulum of official sympathy in the past unfortunately swung more often to the landlord's side than to that of the aboriginal tenant. And the landlords' campaign against tenants' rights went on swimmingly.

It is not the Civil Courts alone that unintentionally and ignorantly helped the landlords in destroying the Khūñtkāṭṭi rights of the village-owning aboriginal communes. As we read in the Ranchi Settlement Report of 1902-1912, the "Revenue courts of the District were equally, if not more,

The Breaking-down of Peasant-proprietary rights through official ignorance of Local History and Local Customs.

to blame.”⁹ The same report tells us that the Manager of the Encumbered Estates Department of Government was a great sinner in this respect. It goes on to say, “The Khuntkatti status of the various khuntkattidars in the extensive states of Jaria was broken when Lieutenant Colonel Evans Gordon was the Deputy Commissioner”⁹ (1892-96), and that “the example of the Encumbered Estates management must have been a powerful incentive to other landlords.”⁹ And the foolish greed of some of the Mūṇḍā headmen of the villages who sought to pose as landlords themselves in their individual right also helped in breaking some Khūṇṭkāṭṭi tenancies. Thus, what with this and what with that, by the time the Settlement operations commenced in the year 1902, much of the old communal (Khūṇṭkāṭṭi) rights were lost. At length, in 1899, a serious rising of the discontented Mūṇḍās which had to be suppressed by calling in the aid of the Military, opened the eyes of the British Government to the gravity of the situation, and Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province, ordered the preparation of a Record of Rights of the District.

Accordingly, a Survey and Settlement of the District was undertaken in 1902 and completed in 1910 with a view to find out what remnants of their ancient rights the aborigines had yet succeeded in retaining so that these might be protected from further spoliation. And in the Quinquennial Report of the Administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1903-08) we read, “At his first visit to Ranchi in September 1905 Sir Andrew Fraser made special enquiries regarding the progress of the Settlement and the working of the laws above mentioned

Belated Govern- (tenancy laws) and found that *through*
ment Measures to *the ignorance of the courts aided by the*
save the Remnants of *apathy of the local officials* until more
Tenants' Rights.

recent years, immense injustice has been done to the Mundas by the agency of the law. The feeling created in the minds of many of them was one of great bitterness against the Government, whose failure to interfere on their behalf they had not been able to understand. The experience gained in the Settlement (now in progress) made it clear that

⁹ Ranchi Settlement Report (1902-10), pages 81 and 83.

the local Tenancy Act failed in various important respects to take due account of the rights enjoyed by the aboriginal tenants". Even at this day it cannot be said that the administrative and the judicial systems in force are suited to the people or that the Tenancy Law is adequate.

Col. Davies, Judicial Commissioner of Chotanagpur, in his judgment, dated the 20th September, 1873, in Regular Appeal No. 56 of that year, writes,—“An experience of very many years in this district enables me to assert with confidence that the whole of Perganah Siri, a jungle tract, was formerly held by the simple Munda Kols under Khuntkatti tenure at fixed rents, that portion of the Perganah now held by the Government still retains its old status; but in the portion held in Jagir by the Lals (junior branches of the Maharaja's family), many of the old Khuntkattidars have been gradually deprived of their rights and have become mere cultivating ryots. In the Mankipattis of the Perganah Sonapur, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Siri, the headmen continue to preserve their former status.”

The extent of the expropriation of the former aboriginal peasant proprietors of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau may be estimated from the fact that when the preparation of the Record of Rights of the Rānchi District was at length completed in 1910, it was revealed that out of a total area of 3,614 square miles of cultivated lands in the Rānchi District, most of which was originally reclaimed by the aboriginal cultivators and owned by them as Khūṅkāṭṭi or Bhūiṅhāri proprietors, only 188 square miles were left as Mūṇdari Khūṅkāṭṭi, 14 square miles as other Khūṅkāṭṭi lands and 203 sq. miles as Bhūiṅhāri lands. Thus, only about one-ninth of the cultivated lands of the District were left as the *dejecta membra* of the original proprietary rights of the aboriginal reclaimers of the soil and founders of villages. And even this much could hardly have been saved but for this beneficent, though much-belated measure of the British Government and the sympathetic care and painstaking investigations of a few British officials and a few of their Indian Assistants as well as the moral, and in some cases, financial support of the Christian missionaries who began to

work in the District since 1845, and with whose influence on the people I shall deal in the next section.

To sum up what I have set forth above. The earlier period of British administration had some unforeseen and unfortunate effects on the land-system of Chōtā-Nāgpūr. In the first place, it unintentionally and unwittingly helped

The Evil Effects
of an unsuitable judi-
cial system.

the transformation of communal ownership of villages of the aboriginal village-communities into individual ownership mostly of non-aboriginal and alien proprietors and, under them, individual cultivating tenancies held by aboriginal and non-aboriginal tenants. In the second place, the British system of administration of justice, too, has unintentionally produced certain deplorable effects on the moral character of the aborigines. This complicated system of law and legal procedure, which is admirably suited to advanced Districts and peoples, was naturally not comprehended by the simple aborigines and was not suited to their level of culture. Although the judges and magistrates were inspired with a desire to do justice, very few of them were, and still are, conversant with the languages, customs and mentality of the people. And thus this complicated system of administration of justice has tended to impair the natural truthfulness and honesty of the people in many cases. By repeated painful experience the people have found that under the complicated and cumbrous Procedure Codes and a too technical Law of Evidence which are now in force and which are beyond their comprehension, their native straightforwardness and veracity is no match for the chicanery and falsehood and the many subtle tricks employed against them by many of their adversaries. And "law-touts" and other petty-fogging "advisers" are not wanting to induce them to adopt the ways of their adversaries. Such advice unhappily they now not unoften follow, though rather clumsily. But, as is inevitable, the expensive system of litigation through one court after another—Courts of Original Jurisdiction, Courts of First Appeal and Courts of Second Appeal,—is ruinous for the poor aboriginal, who, in most cases, cannot fight up to the last, and even those who can, only find themselves in the end utterly ruined through the expenses and

trouble of securing ultimate victory. In this way the complicated British-Indian system of administration of justice has more often than not helped in ruining the aboriginals economically and in degrading them morally.

The British system of law and administration has further tended to impair the social solidarity of the tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads or Panches and the respect they formerly commanded. Until recently, when Government orders validating tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance were promulgated, the Courts often disregarded the custom against inheritance by daughters and applied to them a Succession Act quite inconsistent with the fundamental social structure and ideas of kinship of the tribes. Until recently when rules against alienation of ancestral lands were promulgated by Government, the ancient tribal custom against such alienation was utterly disregarded, and through such alienation, alien Hindus and Mahomedans were admitted to the villages resulting in the further disintegration of the old village community. The recent restrictions against alienation have come so late, and the people have been now so long accustomed to such transfers, that a large section of the people now feel these restrictions irksome and no longer needed, and subterfuges are often resorted to in order to evade them.

It is a relief to turn from these sad effects of a complicated system of administration upon the native population of Chōṭā-Nāgpūr to the brighter side of British rule in the country

The Good Effects
of British Rule.

and its beneficent effects on primitive native civilisation. The Criminal Law introduced by the British rule has, on the whole, had a decidedly beneficent effect on the tribes, although, in its administration, due regard is not always paid to old customs and ideas and the characteristic mentality of the people. Under the influence of British law such objectionable practices as trial by ordeal, witchcraft and persecution of supposed witches are gradually losing their hold on the people. For the loss of their rights in the lands of their forefathers, the aboriginal population have been to some extent compensated by certain undoubted benefits. Such are the spread amongst them of education,

literary and scientific as well as technical, which is opening up new avenues for employment;—the opening up of communications, which has brought them into contact with the outside world and thus put them in the way of getting a wider outlook on life;—and the opening of hospitals and dispensaries for men and women and veterinary hospitals for cattle—which are slowly but surely weakening their age-long faith in superstitious methods of treatment of diseases by medicinemen, sorcerers, witch-finders and ghost-doctors. And last but not the least, the recent introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies is calculated to save them to some extent from the hands of usurious money-lenders, and to train them in habits of thrift and co-operation.

But as yet the bulk of the aborigines have not been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of their status of owners of the soil and their degradation from the position of holders of villages to mere holders of the plough.

It is interesting to note the different reactions produced upon the different mentalities of the three principal tribes respectively by the failure of their efforts to prevent their expropriation and the spoliation of their cherished rights, one after another, by the new class of landlords placed over their heads by the Mahārājā whose ancestor had been elected by their own ancestors to be their chosen *leader* and not *lord and master*.

There is something in the atmosphere of India which makes its people—of every caste and tribe—turn to religion in times of distress. And the acute agrarian discontent of the aborigines of Chōtā-Nāgpūr at the spoliation of their ancient rights from which no earthly power could protect them took the form of religious reforms. The faith in the old gods was shaken. In the case of the stubborn and proud tribe of the Mūṇḍās the reform took the form of a militant monotheistic creed propagated by a young Mūṇḍā named Birsā. This young man, styled by his followers as Birsā Bhagwān or Birsā the God incarnate, promised a kingdom of Heaven in Chōtā-Nāgpūr by expelling the Dikūs (non-aboriginal landlords) if not the Sāhebs (the Europeans or the Britishers) as well. Instead of merely preaching devotion

to God and purity in morals and habits, Birsā foolishly led his more foolish followers to attack the local Police Stations and fight the forces of the British Government of whose strength they had no idea. And he ended his life while in custody in the Ranchi Jail, and a large number of his followers were tried and either hanged, or transported, or imprisoned.

The discontent and disappointment of the naturally joyous and peace-loving tribe of Orāons also took the form of a religious movement, known as the *Ṭānā Bhagat* movement: but, in their case, it was a religion which though monotheistic, was not of the aggressive type of the Birsāite religion, although some of the misguided followers of the new faith did in the beginning commit some excesses. It seeks through *Bhakti* or devotion, as they understand it, and hymns and prayers in their own way, and through purity of life and action, to draw down the blessings of God and raise their degraded social and economic position; and an extreme section of them cast aside their ploughs and gave up their lands in despair and took to singing hymns to God and to their cattle (whom they tend with devotion) in the hope that they would somehow rescue their votaries from their trouble.

The Khārīās, who are neither as sullen and haughty by nature as the Mūṇḍās nor so joyous and sociable as the Orāons, but are a sober and cheerful, and, on the whole, quite a nice and agreeable people, took a more matter-of-fact view of things. They sought to adapt themselves as best as they might to the changed conditions under which they had to live. A section of them crossed over to the neighbouring Feudatory States of Gangpur and Jāshpur where large tracts of unoccupied land were available for cultivation. And when the Christian missionaries appeared in the country, a large number of Khārīās still left in the Ranchi District and, later, many of those who had migrated to the States, along with a larger number of Mūṇḍās and Orāons, turned to the Christian faith, as others still continue to do. This they did, in most cases, in the hope of securing relief from their agrarian troubles and the oppressions and exactions of their landlords and usurious money-lenders, and, in a few cases, of securing protection from the attentions

of evil spirits or from persecutions from their tribe-fellows on account of suspicion of witch-craft. In fact, it was their agrarian troubles which prepared the ground for the Christian Missions. I shall now proceed to discuss the influence of the missionaries on the aborigines.

III. Influence of the European Christian Missionaries on the Aborigines.

The second and more effective vehicle of Western influence on the culture of the Chôtā-Nāgpūr tribes has been, as I said, the European Christian Missions and Missionaries.

The first Christian Mission to work among the aborigines of Chôtā-Nāgpūr was the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, otherwise known as Gossner's Mission from Berlin. It estab-

lished its headquarters at Ranchi in 1845. It was in June, 1850, that the first converts, four in number, were secured. These were all Orāons; and within a few years the number of aboriginal converts began to increase rapidly. It was their expectation of securing redress of their agrarian grievances with the powerful help of European Missionaries that appears to have attracted most, if not all, the earlier converts to the Christian Church. It would be unfair to the Missionaries to say, as is

The Agrarian troubles of the Aborigines—the Missionary's opportunity.

sometimes said, that they made converts through inducements of securing them their lost rights in lands and other worldly advantages. The truth seems to be that these tribes were at the time when the German Mission appeared, and again when the Catholic Mission first came, in a tumultuous and distracted mood of mind in which any port in the storm was welcome to them. And, in their perplexity, they turned for protection and relief to the White missionaries and the religion of their White rulers, which these missionaries preached.

In a report dated the 15th March, 1859, Senior Assistant

The immediate effects of Christianisation.

Commissioner Captain Davies wrote,—
“With Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil, which right in many

instances they have asserted and established. This, independent of other causes which induce the higher castes of natives to view with displeasure the spread of Christianity, caused great alarm amongst the landlords and farmers, who were not slow to use against these converts every means of persecution they could safely venture on, but with no other effect than the spread of conversion.”¹⁰

It was not so much an *appreciation* of their rights which Christianity taught them, for most aboriginals had always fully *appreciated* their rights, much of which they were so long powerless to protect, but it was a more resolute spirit and greater moral courage that they gained from their conversion to Christianity and contact with European Missionaries. Thus Commissioner Dalton, the Ethnologist, in his letter dated the 25th March, 1859, forwarding to Government the report of Captain Davies from which I have just quoted, wrote,—“It has been commonly remarked that when matters came to issue between the ‘simple Cole’ (Kol) and Zamindar or foreign farmer, the Cole had no chance, and indeed he appeared to think so himself, for he seldom sought redress, but the Coles who embraced Christianity imbibed more independent notions, and in several cases successfully asserted their rights. From this the belief unfortunately spread through the District that when Coles go to courts as Christians they are more uniformly successful than those are who have not changed their religion. Mainly in consequence of this impression they suffered much persecution from their landlords during the absence of the authorities after the Mutiny (Sepoy Mutiny of 1857), and were almost all plundered. On the restoration of order they obtained through the Relief Fund a considerable sum to meet their pressing needs, and this was considered as another clear indication of their being a class highly favoured by the authorities. The result of this has been a great accession of nominal Christianity. A reasonable desire to be reinstated in Bhooeharry lands actuated some, a dishonest wish to become one of this favoured family of Bhooehars seized others. The next step was to profess Christianity, and going up to Ranchi to the mission to assert their rights and defy their

¹⁰ *Chota Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Part II, page 3.

landlords. Right or wrong, the demands that were made by the latter were resolutely opposed. Affrays took place and blood was shed".¹¹

Some apologists of the landlords suggest that, if the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aborigines had not been taken in hand by the Christian Missionaries, Chōṭā-Nāgpur would remain in peace. But such hypothetical peace would indeed be of the nature indicated in Tacitus' description—" *Desertum faciunt, pacem vocant*". ("They make the place a desert,—they call it peace.")

In 1869, there was a split among the German Missionaries, one section of whom invited the S.P.G. The Anglican Mission. (Anglican) Mission to Rānchi and joined it with a number of converts. And these two Missions went on making converts in the Rānchi District up till 1883, when a Catholic Mission station was first opened at Dōṛandā near Rānchi.

Soon after the Catholic Mission began to work in the District, there were phenomenal mass conversions to Christianity. The Catholic Fathers wisely permitted their converts to retain as much of their tribal customs, feasts and festivals as did not militate against the Christian creed, and they took a keen and zealous interest in the material welfare of their converts. And this was the secret of their phenomenal success. In this new form of Christianity, the risk of loss of their zest and enjoyment of life was greatly minimised. In place of their old gods and spirits which had proved powerless to protect their rights, it presented an All-powerful Deity like their own Singbonga and Dharmes, and a Son of Man and God who gave up his life to save mankind from their trouble, and a number of Saints, male and female, who were wholly beneficent and attractive. In place of their tribal Jātrā dances and processions, the new religion provided imposing processions with picturesque flags, and gorgeously dressed priests carrying ornamental candle-stands and lights and beautiful images of their Saints. And in addition to all this, the Catholic priests were White men like their rulers, and, like the other White Missionaries, were affable and easy of

¹¹ *Chota Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Part II, p. 1.

approach and, to their thinking, more full of the milk of human kindness than the average White official, and ready to give them all possible help in their contests against those whom they always regarded as their oppressors and spoliators.

Although the Missions gave every possible help to their converts in their just contests in the Courts against the aggressions of the landlords on their lands and their various unauthorised exactions of *abwabs* or illegal cesses and *begar* or forced labour, the Christian aboriginals in many cases were defeated in law-suits. Owing partly to the complicated system of administration of justice which they could not comprehend, and partly to their simplicity and ignorance which placed them at a great disadvantage in the Courts particularly against adversaries most of whom did not scruple to employ any unfair means to secure victory, and partly, too, through the ignorance of the Courts of the languages of the aboriginals, their ways of thought and expression, and the history of landholding in the District, it has in most cases been extremely difficult for the aboriginals to secure their just claims. And thus in spite of the solicitude of most British officials to do justice to them, and the moral and in many cases financial support of the missionaries, the aboriginal Christians could not always successfully resist the encroachments of the Zamindars or secure restitution of the rights of which they had been dispossessed.

But their great moral gain from their new religion lies in the restoration of confidence in themselves as men capable of being what other men have become and of being able to do

The Moral Effect of
Conversion.

what other men have done. The Christian converts got rid of the abject feeling of their own worthlessness or helplessness, which had come over the aborigines through long years of oppression and defeat, and in its stead, they now imbibed a feeling of renewed self-confidence and a spirit of independence and self-help which are of great value in life. Well-nigh two centuries of oppression had bowed their backs and made most of them grovel at the feet of their oppressors in supine helplessness. Now once more they felt an accession of new strength and could summon courage to stand up for their rights.

I have dwelt at some length on the agrarian history of these tribes as affected by British rule and Christian influence, because the economic, social and religious life of these agricultural tribes centre round their lands and landed rights. Without pursuing further the sad history of their agrarian troubles and grievances, which though now rendered much less acute by Governmental measures, still continue to some extent, I shall now proceed to enumerate briefly the influence of the European Christian missions on their civilisation in other ways.

The most important effect of the Christian missions on these tribes is the enormous improvement in education. Primary education has made a phenomenal progress among the Christian aborigines, who now send a much larger proportion of their children to school than the Hindus not only of Chôṭā-Nāgpur but of the more advanced Districts of Bihār. This will be borne out by the following comparative statistics giving the proportionate percentage of children actually at school to children of school-going age.

	Boys at school	Girls at school	Boys and girls at school
Bihar and Orissa	.. 40%	4.6%	22.30%
Chôṭā-Nāgpur	.. 38.99%	4.9%	27.53%
Rānchi District	.. 47.30%	9.4%	28.30%
Rānchi Catholic Mission	.. 69.00%	21.0%	45.00%

In secondary education, University Education and technical education, too, the aborigines are making steady progress. Most aboriginal Christian parents are keen about the education of their children including girls whom the earlier generation of Christians were reluctant to send for schooling. But now-a-days many Christian parents are known to stint themselves a good deal to enable them to pay the necessary school-fees and other expenses at school and college for their children.

There has, on the whole, been a marked improvement in the general level of culture. Even after they leave school and college some keep up the habit of reading, if not much general literature at any rate a lot of religious literature, besides Mission magazines and news-sheets and general newspapers.

Aboriginal Christian students of the missions have their own Students' Associations run by themselves in which besides

discussing general principles of good living, such as the value of temperance, self-help, hygienic rules of living, they urge their fellows to join together in working for their social and economic betterment.

The elders among the aborigines have also been co-operating with the younger men in Aboriginal Improvement Societies or *Sabhās* in discussing ways and means for the social and economic uplift of the aborigines, as a whole, and adopting and carrying on such measures as they consider suitable and feasible. In one or two such associations, recently started, many non-Christian aborigines are found working side by side with their Christian tribe-fellows; and this has led to some increase of a quasi-national feeling which, however, remains more tribal than national. The aborigines, as a whole, still appear at heart to regard Chōṭā-Nāgpur, not India, as their motherland.

In the work of the economic, social and educational uplift of the aboriginal converts, the three Christian Missions follow much the same lines. The Catholic Mission, though the latest in the field, is the best organised and has the largest number of converts in Chōṭā-Nāgpur (2,68,300 as against about only 99,000 of the German Lutheran Mission and 24,500 of the Anglican Mission). It exercises the greatest measure of influence on the life and culture of their converts. Some are of opinion, however, that the strict discipline which they enforce on their converts tends to suppress, to some extent, their liberty of thought and action. However that may be, as we possess fuller reports of the philanthropic and other activities of that mission which are on a more extensive scale than in the other Missions, I shall briefly refer to the social welfare work carried on in the Catholic Mission as typical of the activities of the different Christian Missions of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. These all work, more or less, on the same lines, and have had considerable influence on the life and culture of the Christian aborigines directly and some indirect influence on the non-Christian aborigines as well.

The educational and social uplift work of the Catholic Mission is carried on through some seven hundred primary and vernacular schools for boys and girls and nine Middle English Schools in the District and a central High School at the head-

quarters station at Rānchi and another in course of development at Simdega, a central Co-operative Stores at Rānchi, and a Co-operative Credit Society with its headquarters at Rānchi and nearly 1,500 branches in different villages of the District, and rice banks distributed in a large number of villages. The educational work is under the supervision of a senior expert Belgian Missionary with the designation of the "Director-General of Education", and the Credit Societies and other social welfare organisations under another specially qualified Belgian Father designated "The Director-General of Social Works". These officers frequent the various mission stations in the District and discuss matters with the Fathers in charge, advise them, and co-ordinate their efforts. Much of the actual educational work is carried on by aboriginal masters themselves with one or more Jesuit Fathers as Head Masters in the several central schools. Though the Director-General of Social Works is the President of the Co-operative Credit Society, the whole of the actual managing staff, like all the share-holders, are aboriginals. "Mutual Help" Societies have been established in a number of villages with a view to collect and maintain common village funds by way of insurance against times of unforeseen and special needs with which individual families may be occasionally faced.

These Co-operative Societies and Grain Banks and Mutual Help Societies, under the fostering care and guidance of capable European Missionaries have engendered habits of thrift and co-operation, hitherto unknown, among the aboriginal converts. In the year 1930, as much as Rs. 1,13,081 was deposited in these Co-operative Credit Societies by aboriginal Catholic converts out of their scanty savings. Out of the net profits of the Societies a decent sum of three thousand rupees or more is voted every year to the Poor Boys' Education Fund for help to deserving Catholic students to prosecute their studies. These students are required to repay the money, without interest, to this Fund by very small instalments after they are settled in life.

It is cheering to find how through the influence of these three Missions, the proverbial improvidence of the aboriginals is being replaced by a spirit of thrift and mutual help and

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co-operation. Drunkenness which is a besetting vice of the aborigines, is discouraged by all the Missionaries; and Christian aborigines are now generally less addicted to strong drink, although the town-dwelling aborigine is far more prone to drunkenness than the village-dwellers, and the older generation of Christian aborigines generally indulge as freely in rice-beer as their non-Christian fellows.

Under the influence of the several European Missions, the old village Panchayāts and the Pārḥā Panchāyats in Christian areas have been remodelled. The Christian villagers now elect the most capable or respectable men among themselves to the village Panchāyat or council of village elders. And a group of villages periodically elect members for the group-Panchayāt. Amongst the Christian Mūṇḍās of the Anglican and German Churches of certain areas (Khūṇṭi, Torpā, Karrā and Basiā thānās) where the non-Christian Mūṇḍās do not cut off their Christian tribe-fellows from commensality and social (though not marital) relations, the old Pārḥā-Panchāyats have not been superseded by church organisations of group Panchāyats.

All these Panchāyats do a lot of useful work in settling minor disputes and exercising social discipline. Matters which cannot be satisfactorily solved by the village Panchāyats are referred to the group Panchāyats. Besides trying and punishing cases of sexual misconduct and certain other transgressions of social laws, these Panchāyats discuss and decide such questions of general and social welfare as the reduction and regulation of marriage expenses. These are perfectly autonomous institutions with which the Missionaries do not ordinarily concern themselves, except that the Catholic Mission requires that the decisions of the Panchāyats should be submitted to the Missionary in charge of the station who can veto its decisions if they go against any recognised religious principles.

I have referred above to the Sabhās or associations of the aborigines. Each Catholic missionary circle has its own Sabhā, all the office-bearers of which are aborigines. The function of these Sabhās is to discuss and form opinion on social and economic questions conducive to the welfare of the people, and to propagate their opinions and ideas by lectures and talks and

thereby form public opinion in the community, which may ultimately lead to social and economic reform. Different Sabhās sometimes meet together to interchange ideas.

These Sabhās, like the Panchayats and the meetings and deliberations of the Co-operative Societies, in which aboriginal members are required to decide on matters of importance to them, are calculated to foster a feeling of responsibility in every individual member. Decisions are not left, as before, to the elders only. These decisions are guided by old customary laws in so far as they are considered applicable and are not in conflict with Christian ideas and principles. In these and other ways the influence of Western Christian Missions have distinctly raised the level of culture amongst the aborigines of Chôtā-Nāgpur. There has been an improvement in taste, in cleanliness

Improvement in
Taste, Cleanliness,
Dress, etc.

in their houses and surroundings and in their persons and clothes, and in other matters. Women have given up the use of excessive metal ornaments. The heavy

brass bangles, and anklets, and thick rows upon rows of necklaces, metal toe-rings and finger-rings used by non-Christian aboriginal women, have been replaced among their Christian sisters by light bangles and a few light beads only. Christian young men, as a rule, give up all the ornaments worn by non-Christian lads, although a very few of the more illiterate Christian village youths keep up a necklace or two for occasional wear.

The tribal dances at the village Ākhrās in which young men and women dance together has been practically abolished in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches under the idea that they are conducive to profligacy. The

Modified Conser-
vation of some Inno-
cent Tribal Customs.

Catholic Mission allows tribal dances under certain restrictions designed to avoid the risk of immorality. Thus, village Ākhrās have been abolished in purely Catholic villages, and, in dances at night, only the girls of the same village are permitted to dance together, and one of the village Panches has to be present to give the signal for the termination of the dance for the night. Non-Christian religious dances such as the Karam and Sarhūl dances are not permitted. Tribal dances with songs composed

by Christian masters are permitted at weddings and at Christian religious festivals. In the other Missions, too, such dances are now coming in again, with similar restrictions. In a few villages a sort of Bachelors' Dormitory for Christian young men is being revived but without the rules and objectionable rites which once crept into the non-Christian institutions, but which are now fast falling into disuse among non-Christians as well.

The time-honoured custom of clan-exogamy has not been interfered with. And as much of the old tribal customs at birth, marriage and death as are not inconsistent with Christian doctrines has been allowed to remain. Thus, by retaining as much of the old social atmosphere as Christian doctrines permit and also by creating some new interests, the old zest in life is sought to be kept up. Besides their old tribal games, a few European games are now practised. The game of hockey is now played with great avidity and skill in many aboriginal villages and in the towns and constitutes a wholesome means of using up superfluous energy.

The earlier Christian Missions in the beginning banned all non-Christian feasts and festivals. But the Catholic Mission not only permitted but discreetly encouraged all tribal customs that did not go against the principles of Christianity. Thus, the rice-sowing festival and the festival of first fruits (rice) have not been abolished, but only sacrifices formerly made on these occasions to the old spirits have been replaced by prayers at Church, and offerings of rice are brought to the Church to be blessed by the priest and taken home for the feast. Whereas many Catholic converts take back part or whole of the paddy blessed by the priest for sowing in the fields, the Protestants regard it as a heathen superstition and discountenance it. The rice or paddy brought to the Church on these occasions is, in the Lutheran Churches, taken into the church fund, as thanks-offerings meant for the church and the rest is taken home as "blessed" rice for sowing or for the feast of eating the first fruits (*nawākhāni*) as the case may be. On the occasion of occupying a new house, the priest is called to bless the house, and a feast is arranged, if possible. In the Anglican Mission, too, some Christian aborigines come to church for prayer before

sowing, and for thanksgiving at harvest and on occupying a new house.

Thus the good effects, on these primitive tribes, of Western Missionary influence have been, on the whole, to develop their intellect by education, to give them a wider outlook on life and a higher standard of living and a higher ideal of culture, and generally to raise them in the social scale, to liberate them from the old tribal taboos on such useful occupations as weaving, pottery-making, and smith's work, to create new interests, open out new avenues of employment and usefulness, and to increase their sense of responsibility and self-respect both as individuals and as a race.

Christian influence, as I have said, has indirectly affected even the non-Christian aborigines in some respects. A desire for improving their material condition through education and remedying their social evils has been stimulated among non-Christian aboriginals by the example of their Christian fellows. Associations and societies of their own have been started by non-Christian aborigines to discuss ways and means and to raise funds and adopt other measures to improve the economic and social condition of their communities. The old faith in spirits has been considerably shaken and the religious reform movements that are now and again started amongst them appear also to have been stimulated partly by contact with Christian ideas.

Such in brief are the good effects of the contact of the aborigines of Chôṭā-Nāgpur with Western Christian Missions and Missionaries. The Catholic Mission has on its staff the largest number of European Missionaries (viz., 77 European priests and 49 European sisters) in Chôṭā-Nāgpur, practically all of whom are employed in Mission work among the aborigines. Many of them live the lives of hermits of the type that appeals most to the Indian imagination, and devote themselves heart and soul to the social, economic as well as spiritual uplift of their converts, identify themselves wholly with them and their country, and thus they appear to have the greatest influence and also control over the life and character of their

Indirect Influence
of Christianity on Non-
Christian Aborigines.

converts. The Lutheran mission has now become an autonomous Church and has only 2 or 3 German Missionaries working under a Church Council of Indians. In the Anglican Mission, too, the number of European missionaries working amongst the aborigines is very small. But an Anglican Missionary like the Right Reverend Archdeacon Whitley, who has identified himself completely with his aboriginal Christians and leads the same life of absolute self-sacrifice and devotion as Hindu saints and the best Catholic Fathers, exerts as great an influence on the life of his congregation as the most devoted Catholic Father. And the same might perhaps be said of the late Rev. Dr. Notrott of the Lutheran Church. Such men exert a wholesome influence not only on their own Christian aborigines but also on the non-Christians with whom they freely mix.

The picture I have so far drawn of the Western Missions and Missionaries must have struck the reader as all light and no shade. As a matter of fact, this bright picture, like all bright pictures, has also its shadows. The first thing that one misses in many Christian converts is their native simplicity, the free and easy deportment and love of Nature characteristic of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aboriginals. A certain amount of complexity and artificiality, part of which would indeed appear to be unavoidable, has been introduced into their life. Their young people appear to lack, to some extent, the old exuberance of spirits and enjoyment of life. In place of natural flowers their young women now deck their hair with gay ribbons; in place of their old home-spun *sāris* embroidered with patterns of flowers and leaves in coloured thread, many of their women dress themselves in slim white or coloured *sāris* of either Indian or foreign mill manufacture, particularly on Sundays and feast days, and jackets and blouses and chemises of European style.

Although most Christian missionaries in Chōṭā-Nāgpur have from the beginning discouraged the adoption and imitation of Western dress and habits by their converts and sought to prevent an artificial development which would be necessarily superficial, yet it cannot be said that they have always succeeded. On the other hand, the imitation of Western

customs such as the adoption of foreign names like "Stephen" and "Robert," "David" and "Nathaniel," the adoption of the Western method of saluting by handshakes in supersession of the graceful tribal salutations (Jōhār), the growing habit of wearing half pants and shirts, even at home, are calculated to induce, at least in the subliminal or unconscious mind of the aboriginal converts, a feeling of their affiliation with the *sāhebs* (Europeans) and superiority to or at any rate severance from their unconverted tribe-fellows and other Indians. The old plain living of the aborigines has been given up by some aboriginal Christian converts who seek to imitate the European mode of life, food and clothing, although as yet this is generally regarded with disfavour by the generality of their fellows who are content with adopting only coats and shirts and half pants or thin *dhoties* of mill manufacture in place of the old home-spun. Among the poorer converts in the interior of the District, the use of cloth of hand-loom manufacture has not yet been given up.

On the whole, the Chōṭā-Nāgpur aborigines may be said to have remained, so far, outside the direct influence of the material civilisation of the West, and of Western habits, ideas and methods. I have already referred to the drunken habits of some of the native Christians living in the towns. In fact, the aboriginal Christians appear to be very easily demoralised when they take to urban life. Some half-educated Christians living in the towns have been notorious for their intemperance, improvidence and other vices from which non-Christian aboriginals even of the towns are comparatively free. These perhaps come all the more prominently to our notice because better things are expected or promised of the converts.

Although the missionaries have been anxious to see their converts remain and develop in their old atmosphere in so far as it is consistent with development on Christian lines, their success in this respect has not been quite satisfactory. Some old customs have been proscribed and abandoned, but unfortunately not replaced by better substitutes, and, as a consequence, new vices have sometimes appeared.

Again, large sections of aboriginal Christians appear to

have consciously or unconsciously developed a superiority complex and have practically cut themselves off from the life and society of their non-Christian tribe-fellows. What is worse still, these aboriginal converts not only isolate themselves from their tribe-fellows, but, further, the converts of one denomination isolate themselves from those of another, thus hindering the growth of tribal, not to speak of national, solidarity. The great Christian principle of "Love thy neighbour as thyself" appears to have been modified in its application by many Chōṭā-Nāgpur Christians as meaning, "Love thy neighbour of thy own Church as thyself or rather next to thyself and thine own."

The denominational Christian Panchāyats which have replaced the old village Panchāyats are not an unmixed good, for they tend to destroy the old tribal solidarity. Fortunately, the younger educated men are alive to this danger, and the influence of such societies as the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Improvement Society and the Chōṭā-Nāgpuri Students' Association which bring together Mūndās, Orāons and Khārīās, Christian as well as non-Christian, has led to some increase of a quasi-national feeling, which, however, still remain more tribal and provincial than national. The Chōṭā-Nāgpuris still regard Chōṭā-Nāgpur, not India, as their motherland.

Now that the Lutheran Church in Chōṭā-Nāgpur has become autonomous and is being successfully run by aboriginal Christians themselves, and the other Churches in Chōṭā-Nāgpur may before long attain autonomy, it may be reasonably expected that Christian character and Christian religion in Chōṭā-Nāgpur will in time slough off its foreign garb and will develop more and more on Indian lines, and form part of the great Indian religion of *Jñān-Bhakti-Karma*—true knowledge, true devotion and right action,—which is the essence of real Christianity as well as of real Hinduism. And there are good grounds to expect that the aboriginals, as a whole, will turn their attention to conserving the good features of their own tribal culture and character, and gradually assimilate the best that is in Christianity and Hinduism, and, with

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their minds sharpened and ideas broadened by Western education,—the great gift of the British government and the Western Christian Missions,—work out a distinctive culture of their own.

As for British Officials, they can hardly be said to have exerted any great personal influence on the life and character of the aborigines. Owing to the characteristic reserve of Britishers, and, in some cases, perhaps owing to pressure of work or other reasons, very few officials, particularly in these days of motor traffic, mix freely and intimately with them. Such men as Commissioner Dalton and Deputy Commissioner Streatfield or Settlement Officers Lister and Sifton (now Sir James Sifton) are exceptions rather than the rule. As for the Westerners with whom the aboriginal labourers from Chôṭā-Nāgpur come in contact in the tea-gardens of Assam and the Duars or in industrial centres like Jamshedpur and Jheria, many of them have not been of the type that may influence the aborigines for their good, and the influence of a few of them has been positively deleterious.

To sum up: The effect of the contact of the aborigines of Chôṭā-Nāgpur with the Western Christian Missions has been to infuse new hopes in them and give them a better appreciation of their rights as men and as tenants, a somewhat wider outlook on life, and to enable them to improve socially, economically and intellectually. The life of the converts or some sections of them, however, have become more complex and artificial and somewhat out of touch with their non-Christian tribe-fellows. There is an unfortunate tendency to develop a superiority complex. The introduction of new economic, intellectual and religious interests by the Missions has provided a compensating stimulus to make up in part for the loss of the old zest and enjoyment of life. The educational institutions, hospitals and roads opened by the British Government have considerably helped the cultural progress of the aboriginals and made up to some extent for the disintegration of the primitive aboriginal village communes and their irreparable loss of rights in land due to the ignorance, if not apathy, of early British administrators and the mistaken appli-

cation of British ideas of landholding to the country to this day. The various philanthropic activities of the Missions have, as we have seen, considerably furthered the cultural progress of the people. It is the elevating influence of the personal character and self-sacrificing work of some of the Western Missionaries who have lived and worked in Chōṭā-Nāgpur with selfless devotion that has most affected the aborigine's character and his culture, and helped and is still helping him forward on the path of cultural advancement.

Contact with the more complicated culture of the West, in spite of certain disintegrating and contaminating influences, has undoubtedly given a tremendous impetus to the intellectual and social advancement of the principal aboriginal tribes of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau.

With the help of the educational facilities and new avenues of employment provided by the British Government and the philanthropic and educational work, including the training in new arts and crafts, undertaken by the Western Christian Missions, and the moral influence of some of the European Christian missionaries on their life and character, the Orāons, Mūṇḍās and Khāriās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are now freeing themselves from the fetters of ignorance, economic degradation, moral despair and weakness of will, engendered by two centuries of oppression and repression by many of their landlords and money-lenders and culpable neglect by their more civilized fellow-Indians. They are now emerging from their century-long social and economic serfdom, and advancing, not, as of old, with the violence of revolution foredoomed to failure but with the slow orderly progress which marks a natural evolution.

English education which is, under present conditions in India, an indispensable condition of an intellectual equipment, will enable the aborigines to hold their own in the competitive struggle of the modern world. We now find every year scores of aboriginal young men and even a few girls from Government English schools and colleges and the Mission High schools successfully entering the lists of competition in our Universities with their Hindu and Mahomedan compeers. We see, year after year, a few of them securing responsible posts in various

departments of Government. We find some of them discharging public duties as members of District Boards and Municipal Boards and Union Boards, and in some other honorary capacities. All this has contributed materially to a sense of national or rather tribal self-respect. And young educated leaders are appearing amongst them, eager to help forward their people in the path of progress, although as yet their number is infinitesimally small and they have to contend against numerous odds in their attempts to help forward their people in the onward path of progress.

Through the removal by the British Government of some of the inequitable handicaps to progress and inequalities of opportunities under which he so long laboured, the aborigine's lot and prospects in life have been considerably brightened.

So long the aboriginal "Kol" (as he is contemptuously called by his Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours), while comparing his lot with that of the "*Diku*" (as the aboriginal, in his turn, calls his Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours) had to lament his lot, by adapting the words of the poet Thomas Hood to his own case:—

"What different lots our stars ordain!
The *Diku* to be hailed and wooed as a lord,
And the *Kol* to be shunned as a leper!
One to the world's wine, honey and corn,
The other like Colchester native born
To its vinegar only and pepper!"

But now, thanks to the direct and indirect influence of the Christian Missions and the educational facilities provided by the British Government, the educated aborigines, with a wider outlook on life and brighter prospects before them, may well sing with Walt Whitman's *Pioneers*,—

"All the past ills we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer mightier world.
Fresh and strong the world we seize,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!"

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Further Notes on the Kolarian Belief About the Neolithic Celts.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., B.L.

In my paper entitled: "A Note on the Kolarian Belief about the Neolithic Celts," which was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Eighteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Nagpur in January, 1931, I have stated therein that, during my three months' stay at Ranchi from 20th January to 15th April, 1930, I saw in the collection of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, a neolithic celt (or stone-hammer of the New Stone Age) which had been dug up from an *Asura* grave in village Gora in the Khunti Subdivision of the Ranchi District. I have further stated therein that, as the result of my study thereof, I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

1. This Neolithic Celt is called *Ther-diri* or "Thunder-stone" by the Kolarian peoples of Chota-Nagpur.
2. As this celt was made by men of the Neolithic Age or New Stone Age, it must be from 15,000 to 25,000 years old.
3. The Kolarian peoples believe that these celts were hurled down upon the earth by gods or semi-divine personages like Rāma or Lakshmana.
4. They further believe that these celts are fraught with divine afflatus and that, if they are placed by the side of parturient women, these latter will have easy and speedy delivery.

Since writing the aforementioned paper, I have come to know that the Mongoloid tribes living in the hills of Assam also call these Neolithic Celts "*Thunder-Stones*". For instance, the Nāgā tribes living in the Nāgā Hills of Assam also call these stones "*Thunderbolts*", as will appear from Prof. Henry Balfour's article on the same subject in *Folklore* for June, 1929. In this paper, he has described three celts from the Nāgā Hills.

Two of these are slightly tinged and ground all over, and each is mounted with a canework-loop for suspension; the third is a ground celt of very hard pale-grey stone, with a reddish tinge, perhaps due to iron infiltration, which appears to have caused the celt to be regarded as a "live" thunderbolt and consequently, a source of danger to its possessor. Some of the Nāgā tribes regard these stone-celts as luck-bringing, whereas the Lohtā Nāgās will not touch them.

Curiously enough, the Ao Nāgās living in the same hills, instead of looking upon these stones as luck-bringers, believe the same to raise thunderstorms and cause houses to be struck by lightning. This is evident from Prof. Henry Balfour's article entitled: "*Concerning Thunderbolts*" in *Folklore* for March, 1930. In this paper he has described "an interesting instance of a ground stone celt (Thunder-stone) regarded by the Ao Nāgās of Village Tangratsu in the Nāgā Hills as still dangerous and capable of causing disaster instead of averting it. The Ao Nāgā, who had found it, kept it presumably for luck, but, contrary to expectations, during the first year of possession the owner's field-house was blown down, and in 1928, his house was struck by lightning. This destructive activity of the "thunderbolt" was considered to be due to a curious reddish streak running across the celt and regarded as indicating the lightning itself." The celt was sent by Dr. J. H. Hutton to the Pitt Rivers Museum of Anthropology (appertaining to the University of Oxford) and, curiously enough, during the "November gale of 1928, a large portion of the Museum roof was blown off!" Mr. Balfour gives another instance of faith in the mysterious potency of an Indian "Thunderbolt" as follows:—"It was mentioned to me by Dr. J. H. Hutton, who, in spite of several attempts, has failed to acquire it from its owner, an elderly Nāgā of intemperate habits, who sets great store upon the celt. On the day following an orgy of drinking, he sits licking his "thunderbolt" in full reliance upon its peculiar efficiency for cooling his burning tongue."

These neolithic celts or Thunder-stones are not only useful for procuring easy and speedy delivery for parturient women, but are also used as remedies for other diseases.

The well-known Indian anthropologist Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, who has thoroughly studied and described the prehistoric stone-implements found in the Ranchi District in The Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society for March, 1916, says:—

Medicinal virtues are generally attributed to these “thunder-stones” or “thunder-bolts” by many people in the Ranchi District as elsewhere in India and in many other parts of the globe. In cases of headache, difficult urination, rheumatic or other pain in any part of the body, and in affections of the lungs, water with which one of these lightning-stones has been rubbed over another flat stone, is applied to the affected part. Perforated rock-crystal beads dug out in the fields or found in ancient cinerary urns are valued as a cure for certain kinds of fever. They are popularly called “Rāti-Jārā” (lit., night-fever) stones and are believed to be particularly effective in fevers in which the attacks begin at night time.

II.—Purāṇa Coin and the Date of the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra.

The *purāṇa* coin is unknown to the Pali Buddhist Canon and to Kauṭilya. We get it for the first time in the Mānava-dharma-śāstra. We find it current in the time of the Divyāva-dāna (p. 353) where 500 purāṇas are contrasted with one *Kārshāpaṇa*.¹ It seems that the name *purāṇa* ("old") would have come in use when a *new* style of coinage came into vogue. Coins with royal names were introduced in Magadha and the Mid-Country under the Śuṅgas. The new system gave the old punch-marked coins the name or description "*purāṇa*". It seems the expression as denoting a coin (*Kārshāpaṇa*) came into use after 300 B.C. and before the first century A.C., very likely in the Śuṅga time.²

Its absence earlier and in the Kauṭilya (which does not know either the Mānava-dharma-śāstra or the *purāṇa*) indicates indirectly the time of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra.

K. P. J.

¹ XXVI, p. 353: pañchabhiḥ purāṇaśataiḥ parichārayate | . pañcha-purāṇaśatāni notsaḥate dātum | na..kārshāpaṇenāpi prayojanam..

² The *purāṇa* coin is mentioned in an (unpublished) inscription of Huvishka's time (28th yr.) at Mathurā (Girdharpur pillar, Muttra Museum).

III.—Kumārāmātya.

Mr. De (J.B.O.R.S., XVII, 198) has rightly objected to the interpretation of the term *Kumārāmātya* in the Hindol Plate as offered by its editor (*ante* XVI, 81).

We get light on this official term from Bhāsa (*Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, II). When Śālaṅkāyana, Minister to King Pradyota Mahāsena, having captured King Udayana of Kausāmbī, brings him to one of the gates of Ujjayinī and the news is announced to the Mahāsena, the latter orders the Chamberlain : ‘Gachha, Bharatarohakaṁ brūhi “Kumāra-vidhivīśiṣṭena satkāreṇa.....praveśyatām Amātyaḥ (ed. 1912, p. 33)”’. ‘Go and tell Bharatarohaka to receive the Minister with the honours due to a (royal) prince.’ Bharatarohaka was the Prime Minister of Ujjayinī. The King is here conferring an honour and a dignity on the minister Śālaṅkāyana whose title had been simply *tatrabhavān Amātyaḥ* (p. 30) for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, ‘son of Śātānika, grandson of Sahasrānika, the Vatsa king’ whose ‘Bhārata pedigree goes back right into the Veda’.¹ It was the honour and dignity of *Kumāra*, that is, although not of royal blood, by virtue of the royal decree the Amātya was titled *Kumāra* and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette. He is distinguished from the real princes by being called *Kumārāmātya* : ‘the Prince the Minister’.

This seems to be the real significance of the *Kumārāmātya* title of the inscriptions. Though not a prince by birth, the grantee was made a titled prince.

K. P. J.

1 प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारती वंशः (p. 34).

IV.—An exact date in the reign of Aśoka.

We have to thank a French Scholar for pointing out the data for an exact date in the Aśokan Chronology. It is now established that Aśoka's reign-period fell between 274 B.C. and 234 [or 232] B.C. The late Dr. V. Smith gave the date as 272 B.C.-232 B.C., basing it on Chandragupta's accession date as 323 B.C. The date which I calculated worked to be higher by two years. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1915.) Vincent Smith, before his death added after his proposed date " (possibly a year or two years earlier) "—*Early History of India*, 1924, p. 206. In that period 274 B.C. [or 272 B.C.]—234 [or 232] B.C., we can get a definite date for one event.

It is well known that Aśoka re-distributed the remains of the Buddha all over India erecting numerous stūpas over them.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang records the religious tradition which he heard in India (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 91) that the relics were deposited throughout the empire on one and the same day at a given hour. The appointed time was at or after midday when the face of the Sun darkened (which the Buddhist monks in later ages attributed to a miracle of Upagupta, Aśoka's teacher). M. Robert Fazy, writing in the July-September, 1930, issue of the *Journal Asiatique* (pp. 135-136) rightly regards this as the description of a solar eclipse.

T. R. Von Oppolzer who in his *Kanon der Finsternisse* calculates dates of solar eclipses for over thirty centuries (1207 B.C. to 2161 A.D.), gives the 4th May, 248 B.C., as the date on which a total solar eclipse took place. It was visible in the valley of the Ganges after the midday (3-4 P.M.) (*J.A.*, p. 136).

The Emperor Aśoka undertook a pilgrimage of the Buddhist sites led by Upagupta. The date for this has been calculated by Vincent Smith to have been 249 B.C. If his date is short by two years, it is to be taken as 251 B.C. It seems that the erection of these stūpas was undertaken after his pilgrimage.

It seems quite safe to adopt 248 B.C. as the exact year for the re-distribution of the Buddha's remains by Aśoka.

K. P. J.

V.—Additional Notes on the Śobhaneśwar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha.

Since after the publication of the above article of mine in the March issue of the Research Journal some alterations in the reading have been suggested to me by Sjt. Radhakrushna Basu, M.A., of Cuttack and I must admit here that at some places his reading is certainly an improvement over mine. I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to him for this. I give below the alterations in the reading as suggested by him :—

Line 2— वस्यन्मुग्धवधू

इन्द्रोपेन्द्र

Line 4— काननैक

हन्स

Line 5— यशोघ्नौ

Line 6— स्नाद्वाय
.....

Line 7— मण्डले

Line 8— शत्रोः कृत
.....

Line 9— अत्रा सप्य
.....

हर्षाद्बिर्बुध्क लोचनान्तविगद्वास्या

..... सुतरां जू

पायते

The meaning would then be as follows :—“ Whose good deeds bright as the beam of the autumn moon, the recital of which by the Nāga damsels has attracted praise of the three worlds and has caused tear drops to flow from the eyes (of the people hearing the songs of the Nāga damsels) forming into a pond wherein Vāsuki the king of serpents himself has been charmed and stupefied.”

If this be the sense then the idea of the term Bhujaṅgama-purī as meaning Kakodarpur as suggested by me shall have to be rejected.

Line 10— कुधस्फुरपायो

क्षेपात्क्षीप्त

This is the most important of the alternative readings suggested. The meaning would then be:—"Who by the display of his angry glance like the display of the hood of an angry serpent devastated the city of the enemy of the Ganga dynasty and turned it into a jungle full of lions, wild fire, cruel serpents, proud boars, dancing peacocks whose tails eclipse the rays of the sun, roaring elephants from whose chins drops out *mada* water, and rhinoceros."

In that case it would be presumed that Vaidyanātha, the constructor of the temple was really a commander under the renowned Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa, and not a king of a different dynasty.

Line 11— निर्मलाद्रिजपति ...

Line 14— विश्वं तर्पयता

Line 18— स्फायत्तान्द्र

Line 23— शिवाय खात

उत्तराष्ट

ध्वानो

Line 24— पुरतो ब्राह्म (Brāhma—son of
Brahmá = Nārada)

Line 26— प्रातिष्ठद्वनं

Line 27— करठद्वयो शुक्तिका

P.S.—In page 33 of the original article the sentence "At least the use....., the Capitals of Orissa", occurring above the text should be treated as cancelled.

VI.—Note on an Oriya Copperplate Inscription of Ramachandra Deo, Śaka 1728.

By R. Ch. Panda.

There is an article on the above subject by Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakraverty, in the December issue of Vol. ii, Part iv, of this Journal.

The learned Rai Bahadur was unable to identify 'Nandapur' the capital of the donor and it is unfortunate that he could not get the actual information even from the 'Gangāmata Mut' of Puri, wherein the descendants of the donee reside. I shall therefore, in this article, attempt to give a correct information of the Rajah's capital, the exact time of the Rajah's reign and a correct reading of the said copperplate.

Of the 32 districts in the Madras Presidency, Vizagapatam district is the biggest of all, nay, 'it is the largest in India, and the most populous in the Province, having an area of no less than 17,222 sqr. miles and containing in 1901, 29,33,650 inhabitants'. It is the second district from Orissa, the first being Ganjam, and forms part of the Northern Circars. Of the 17,222 sqr. miles over 12,000 sqr. miles belong to Jeypore or 'Jayapura'—the City of Victory—where an Oriya Maharajah reigns. The present Maharajah, as the State Chronicles say, claims his descent from one Vināyak Deo, the brother of the king of Kashmir and Jammu, who had left that country, rather than to hold a subordinate position under his elder brother, went to Benares, did penance to Kāśīviśveśvara there, and was told by that god in a dream, to go to the kingdom of Nandapur belonging to the SILAVAMSA line of which he would become the king.¹ Accordingly, Vināyak Deo went there, married the king's daughter and succeeded to the gadi of Nandapur in 1443 A.D. It is said that, prior to Vināyak Deo, 32 kings ruled

¹ Vide 'The Ruling Chiefs, Nobles and Zamindars of India; p. 458. By A. Vadivelu.

the country of Nandapur, but so far no account of their rule has been found.

The present headquarters of the Maharajah is now at Jeypore, but formerly it was at 'Nandapur'. The present Nandapur is a small village containing only 1,051 inhabitants. 'In old records the property is always called the Nandapuram Zamindary. It still contains relics of its former importance. Remains may be seen of a mud fort which apparently surrounded the whole place; on the northern part of the village are two boulders on one of which are sculptured two figures in relief, while the other has been fashioned into an elephant, near the cutcherry of the *amin* of the Jeypore estate is a stone bearing an inscription; about a mile to the south-east is a stone *Ganapati* some six feet high; the same distance to the north is the shrine of *Sarveśvara*, in which are more inscriptions (inscriptions are rarities in the hills); and in the village itself are the ruins of the famous 'Throne of the Thirty-two Steps'—a flight of this number of stone steps which leads to a roughly circular granite slab on which, it is said, the early chiefs of Jeypore were always installed. About three miles from this place is a still more ancient and curious relic namely, a small shrine in which are three stone images of nude individuals sitting cross-legged which appear to belong either to Buddhist or Jain times.'¹

Nandapur was once the Headquarters of the Pottangi Taluk of the Jeypore Agency, but now the headquarters has been changed to Pottangi, a small village of about 800 inhabitants situated on the Salur-Jeypore trunk road.

The donor of the copperplate was one Maharaj Ramachandra Deo of the Nandapur Raj family, and the plate was granted in the year 1728 ŚĀLĪVĀHĀNA śakābda, i.e., 1806 A.D., the exact date of issue of the plate corresponds to 30th June, 1806. The learned editor of this plate in his article writes:—

'Copperplates in Oriya characters are extremely rare.' The independent kings of Orissa issued thousands of copper-

¹ *Vide* 'Vizagapatam District Gazetteer', page 300 (1907 edn.).

plates in this country, but in Jeypore almost all the plates were in pure Oriya character. So far only three plates have been found and all of them were issued by this Ramachandra Deo. They are :—

1st Plate—issued in the year 1799 A.D. (unedited) is with the descendants of the donee now at Jeypore.

2nd Plate—issued in the year 1801 A.D. (edited by Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S., of Jeypore *vide*—‘Andhra Historical Research Journal’—vol. 111, part 1, 1928).

3rd Plate—issued in the year 1806 A.D.—the one under review.

In plate No. 1—two dates are given, but in none the śaka year is mentioned. The first is Yovian year Bhava, Monday, 14th, of Dhanus mārgaśīrāṣa, full-moon, when there was a lunar eclipse—it corresponds to 26th December, 1814 A.D. The second is Yovian year Sidharta, Friday, 28th, of Cancer, Śrāvaṇa śudha 8th tithi, i.e., 9th August, 1799 A.D. From these two dates Mr. Ramadas Pantulu concludes that, the donor of these plates was living in the years 1799–1814 A.D. But, it was not really so. From the following genealogy it is quite clear that Ramachandra Deo was ruling the Province of Nandapur between the years 1781–1825 A.D. and he was the second Ramachandra Deo of his family.

Genealogy.¹

1. Vinayak Deo	..	..	1443–76	A.D.
2. His son—Vijaya Chandrakhya	..	..	1476–1510	„
3. „ Bhirava	..	..	1510–27	„
4. „ Viswanath	..	..	1527–71	„
5. „ Balaram—1st	..	..	1571–97	„
6. „ Vesvant	..	..	1597–1637	„
7. „ Vira Vikrama	..	..	1637–69	„
8. „ Krishna	..	..	1669–72	„
9. „ Visvambhara—1st	..	..	1672–76	„
10. His brother—Mallakimardan Krishna			1676–81	„
11. „ Hari	..	..	1681–84	„

¹ *Vide* ‘Vizagapatam District Gazetteer’, p. 264.

12. His Brother—Balaram—2nd	..	1684-86	A.D.
13. His adopted son, Raghunath Krishna		1686-1708	,,
14. His son—Ramachandra—1st	..	1708-11	,,
15. His brother—Balaram—3rd	..	1711-13	,,
16. Visvambhara—2nd	..	1713-52	,,
17. His step-brother, Lala Krishna	..	1752-58	,,
18. His brother—Vikrama—1st	..	1758-81	,,
19. His son—RAMACHANDRA DEO—2nd		1781-1825	,,

* * * * *

Now, wherefrom did the donor issue the plate? or which was the capital of the donor when he was ruling the province of Nandapur? There is no doubt that the former capital of the Jeypore Kings was at Nandapur or Nandapuram. The ruins of the old fort, the famous throne of 32 steps, and the mention in the family records, etc., all prove that it was only at Nandapur, but still it is clear that, when the above plates were issued, the capital was shifted from Nandapur to the present Jeypore. 'Vināyak Deo and his six successors', say the family papers, 'had each only one son, and the sixth of them Vira Vikrama (1637-69) accordingly resolved to remove his residence elsewhere. The astrologers and wise men reported that the present Jeypore, was "a place of Kshatriya class" and it was accordingly made the capital and named after the famous Jeypore of the north.'¹

So, all these plates were issued from the new capital Jeypore, but still the donor did not mention himself as the 'Ruler of Jeypore'. He was only mentioned as the 'Nandapur-Bhūpati', i.e., Lord of Nandapur. He was the 19th ruler of his family, but so far no plates of the former rulers have been traced out.

Before stating the text of the plate, I may point out an interesting point in the copperplate grant of Ramachandra Deo. It is engraved on both sides, but, on the 1st side only two

¹ Vide 'Vizagapatam District Gazetteer', pages 264 and 265 (1907 edn.).

lines were written first, then the plate was turned to the 2nd side, on which 7 lines were engraved, then again the plate was turned to the 1st side but this time it was kept upside down. Then 4 lines were engraved, ending with the royal seal on the fourth line. The learned editor of this plate had taken up the 2nd side first, then the upturned side of the 1st side, and lastly he had edited the 1st two lines. Hence, the 1st line of the plate corresponds to his 12th line, and his 1st line corresponds to the 3rd line of the actual or corrected text given *infra*. Owing to this peculiarity in engraving the Rai Bahadur had been unable to read the plate correctly and had supposed that some lines were added afterwards. Readers of this article are specially requested to compare the following corrected text of the plate with that published on page 439 of vol. ii, part iv of this journal.

Correct reading of the Text.

1st side.

- Line 1. Akṣaya nāma samvatsara mithuna di 19 na
 āṣāḍha śuddha (śukla) 15 somavāre śrē Puruṣo-
 ,, 2. tma kṣatra śrē Gaṅgāmātā-tḥāku rāṇiṅka matha
 śrē Bhagavān Dāsa Adhikāri Gosāiṅka

2nd side.

- Line 3. śisa (śiṣya) Rādhā charana-Dāsaṅku avadhāna-
 kalāra patā/patā nirṇaya Śrē Rasika śiroma-
 ,, 4. ṇi yugala-murttika amṛta monai nimante Jaya-
 pura-durga Mara kotapādi dvāra sma-
 ,, 5. ṇdha kakaḍāhāṇdi grāma e-dina chandra grahaṇa
 samayare ava dhāna kalāim je- e-
 ,, 6. grāma sajala-sthala-nidhi-nikhāta-kāṣṭha-pāṣāṇa-
 padara-pankāla chhāya-upachhāya sa-
 ,, 7. ndhi—simāntare yāvaśchandrārke bhaṣmāntake
 pāram-paryante Śrē Rasika sē-
 ,, 8. romaṇi yugala murttiṅku amṛta monaē karāe
 nitya tini dhupa pāṇcha avakā
 ,, 9. sa re kalyāṇa karuthiva ethirē āna avadhāna
 nāhim—Śrē Rajādhira-

1st side (upside down).

- Line 10. ja Mahārāja viradhi viravara pratāpa Śrē Nandapura bhūpati Śrē Ramachandra-
 „ 11. Deva Mahārājānkara sanamatṭa svadattaṁ digu-
 naṁ puṇyaṁ paradattāṁ pālanam-
 „ 12. paradattāpa hārēṇa svadattaṁ nisphalaṁ bhvet
 Śālivāhāna śakābda 1728 (Royal seal).

Translation.

This charter is granted to Rādhā Charan Dās, the disciple of Śrī Bhagavān Dās Adhikāri Gosayim of the muth (Temple) of Gaṅgāmātā Thakurani of Śrī Purusottam Khetra (Puri) on Monday the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha Mithuna 19 of the year Akṣaya.

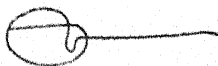
Conditions of the charter are—that the said Rādhā Charan Dās will perform daily three bhogas (nectared food) and five ablutions to the god and goddess Śrī Rasika Siromani of the said temple and have the village Kokodhandi near Morokotpadi of the Jeypore fort, with all its land, water, forest, mines, wealth, hills and dales, upland and lowland shade and shadows, junction and boundaries, etc., they are granted on this lunar eclipse day, as long as the sun and moon last, and till the deluge takes place. On each occasion of the daily bhogas and ablutions he will pray to the gods for the good of the donor and there should be no deviation from this.

This charter has the assent of Śrī Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Virādhiviravara Pratāpa Śrī Nandapura Bhūpati Śrī Ramachandra Deo Mahārāja (sanskrit verse). To protect the gift of others is doubly meritorious. To confiscate other's gift means one's own gift becoming useless. Given in the year 1728 of Śālivāhāna.

N.B.—One more point which the learned editor has forgotten to note is the significance of the Royal Seal, given at the end of the 12th line. The Royal Seal consists of two parts. The first is like the Roman figure 3 followed by a unit— I 3 : It is called 'Mukutam' or sign of Royalty. It is being used by all

the descendants of the donor even up-to-day. The second part is a loop followed by a lengthy line.

II



An interesting piece of story appears in the District Gazetteer, regarding this loop and the line :—

‘ Not long after his (Vināyak Deo’s) accession, some of his own subjects rose against him, but he recovered his position with the help of a leader of Brinjaries (Cow-herd) and ever since then, in grateful recognition, his descendants have appended to their signatures a wavy line (called Valatradu) which represents the rope, with which Brinjaries tether their cattle.’

VII.—Two Brahmi Seals from Buxar.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

These two seals were discovered during excavations at Buxar by the present writer, the larger one in 1926 and the smaller one in 1927. They are at present in the Patna Museum.

They were found at a depth of 13 ft. above the river-bed and 39 ft. below the surface of the high bluff overlooking the Ganges midway between the Rāmrekḥā Ghāt and the Charitra-ban. The material is baked clay of a blackish colour. The larger one is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " and the smaller one about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in thickness. They are in a good state of preservation except for a small chip to the right of the larger one. The photographs show their actual size. The letters are in relief and in the positive.

The larger one reads :

Śadaśanaśa '(the seal) of *Śadaśana*'
(Skt.—*Sadaśana*) ;

the smaller one :

Hathikaśa '(the seal) of *Hathika*'
(Skt.—*Hastika*) ;

in both the seals the letters are quite clear.

Script. The second one (of *Hathika*) apparently belongs to the Aśokan type of the 3rd century B.C. The first one (of *Śadaśana*) is more archaic. All the letters, viz., *ś*, *d*, and *n* may be compared with the Jogimārā¹ letters. As regards Pre-Mauryan Brāhmi, Konow² emphasises it 'as the national alphabet of India', and incidentally points out its antiquity by placing it earlier than the Kharoṣṭhī (c. 3rd century B.C.), 'derived from Aramaic, and elaborated with the help of Brāhmi, which must accordingly have been in existence for some

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, IX, p. 274 (Plate).

² *C.I.I.*, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, 1929, p. xiii.

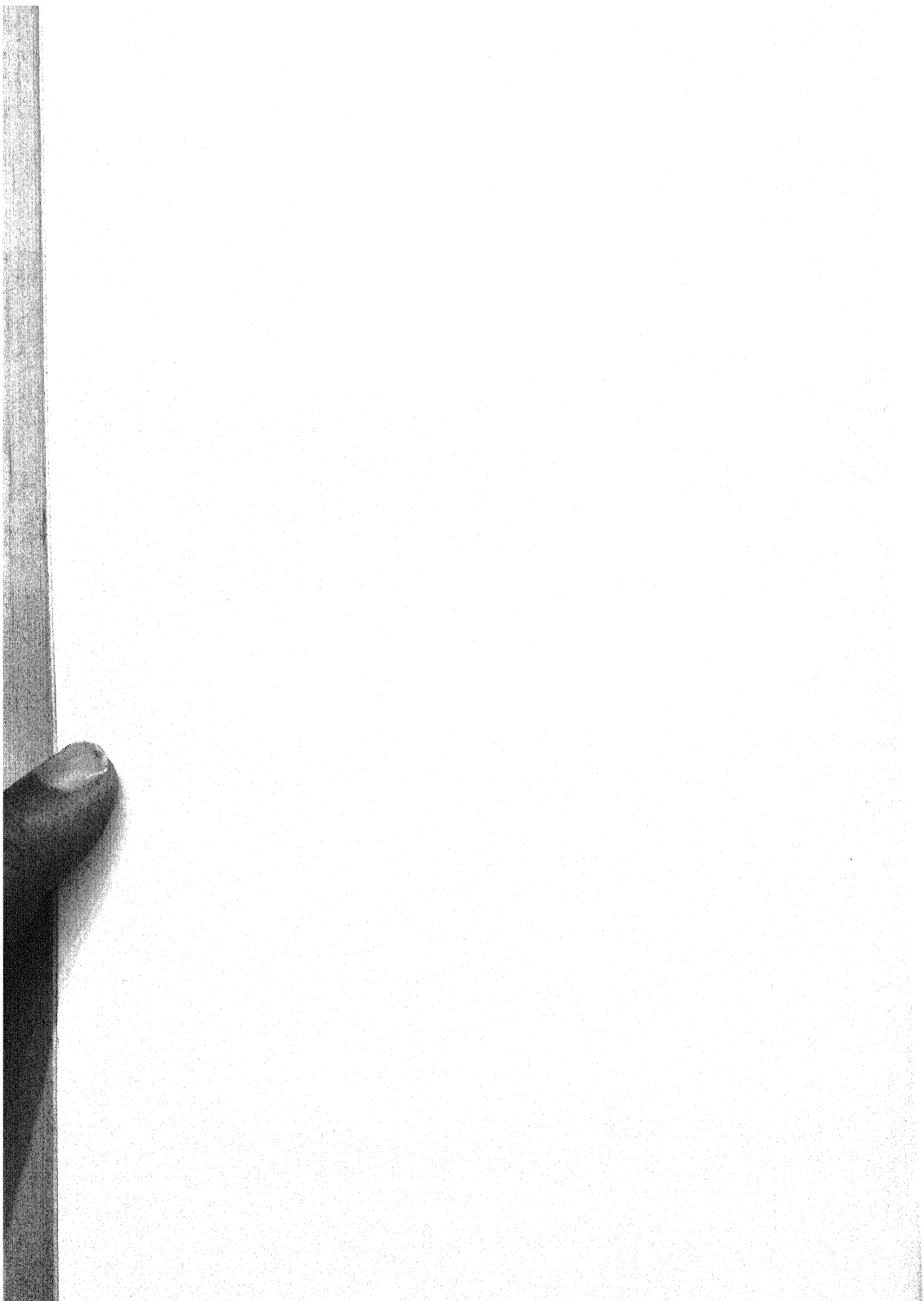


a.

Buxar Brahmi Seals.



b.



time previously.' Both Bühler¹ and Jayaswal² indicate practical instances. According to Bühler, Cunningham's³ three Patna seals are pre-Aśokan: similarly Jayaswal considers Ghose's Bulandibagh seal to be pre-Mauryan, 'may be even older than 300 B.C.'⁴ The Buxar seal of *Śadaśana* may be another indication in the same direction.

Language. The legend is in Māgadhi Prākṛit. It may be compared with the language of the Jogīmārā inscription, and with the Brāhmī seals at Patna. The Buxar seals within their limited scope of six letters *ś, d, n, h, th, and k*, and one grammatical form, viz., the possessive *śa*, entirely bear out the description of Māgadhi in Prākṛit grammars.⁵

Usage. Like the Patna seals,⁶ the Buxar ones, also, are private seals. They might have been used by individuals as token seals. There is a long range of such seals from the Mauryan till the Gupta and later times. Clay seals are among the oldest⁷ of their kind in India.

¹ *I.P.*, p. 8 (*I.A.*, 33).

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, pp. 191-92.

³ *A.S.R.*, XV, Plate III.

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 198.

⁵ Pischel, *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Ak.d.W.*, 1906, p. 489ff.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, X, p. 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Jasahara-chariu by Pushpadanta, edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, D.Litt. (Paris), Professor of Sanskrit and Allied Languages, Fergusson College, Poona, published by the Karanja Jain Publication Society, 1931 (*Karanja Jain Series*, No. 1), 9½" × 6", pp. 20 + 100 + 74 + 4, *Introduction, Text, Glossary, and Notes*. Price Rs. 6/8.

Mr. Hira Lal in his *C.P. Catalogue* brought out the importance of this and other Jaina texts in Apabhramśa preserved in the Bhāṇḍāra at Karañjā (Berar). Now, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Gopal Ambadas Chawre, a series has been started by a band of Digambara Jaina Scholars to publish the Karañjā Texts. Its first item is Pushpadanta's *Jasahara-chariu* (*Yaśodhara-charita*). Pushpadanta wrote this work at Mānyakheta in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. The Editor has utilized 7 MSS. in preparing the edition. He has executed his work with success. He has yet given us no discussion on Pushpadanta's language. Prof. H. L. Jain, the general editor of the Series, points out that this Western Apabhramśa is the immediate forerunner of three vernaculars, Hindī, Gujarātī and Marāthī. When samples of the Apabhramśa were published by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Catalogue*, its connection with Hindī was pointed in this Journal (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII, p. 301) and elsewhere. Dr. Vaidya's results from the pointview of Marāthī will be awaited, for Pushpadanta wrote in the Maratha Country. This is the second book in Western Apabhramśa which has been printed, the first being Dhanapāla's *Bhavishyat-Kathā*, edited by Prof. Jacobi (1918).

The Digambara Jain Community is to be congratulated on starting a second series of theirs in this Karañjā Chawre Granthamālā. The Manikchand Jaina Granthamālā of Bombay has already published important Sanskrit and some Prakrit books. The peculiar feature attaching to the Karañjā Series is that it proposes to publish the literature in a special language which is yet to be studied.

K. P. J.

'The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediæval Karnāṭaka' by George M. Moraes, M.A., with a preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay; published by B. X. Furtado and Sons, Bombay, 1931, 9½" × 6", pp. 317 + appendices 157 pages, with 56 illustrations and 4 maps, index, etc. Price Rs. 15.

This is a history of the Kadamba Dynasty and a history of Karnāṭaka (including Kuntala) from the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the fourteenth century, that is, to the rise of the Vijayanagara Empire. Both the author and his *guru* and guide, Father Heras, are to be congratulated on the production.

Mr. Moraes was not satisfied with the materials available for a history of the Kadamba Dynasties, considering the fact that they cover over a thousand years. He consequently undertook a tour of research under the guidance of Father Heras through the Districts of Belgaun, Dharwar, North Kanara, the state of Mysore, and Goa. He made searches for inscriptions, studied the topography, the architecture and sculptures of his period; he took 106 photographs of temples, forts, coin, etc. He has been able to utilize no less than twenty-three new inscriptions which he has now published as an appendix to his book. His new materials have enabled him to give proper value to the Kadamba history and Kadamba architecture—the basis of the Hoysala architecture.

The book is divided into eight sections: (1) Historical Introduction, (2) Early Kadambas, (3) Banavāsī under Foreign Domination (Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas), (4) the Kadambas of Hangal, (5) the Kadambas of Goa, (6) the Minor Kadamba Dynasties (including the Kadambas of Kaliṅga), (7) the Internal History (Administration and Culture, pp. 245–319), (8) the Kadamba Geography. [Appendices on the Kadamba Lion (royal symbol), Kadamba coins, and unpublished inscriptions.] The work has been executed with labour and judgment. It will remain as one of the leading text-books of provincial histories. Provincial histories are needed. Therein an author finds a definite scope for an intensive study. Geographical problems,

trade, towns and ports, battlefields, forts and fortresses, temples, agrahāras, and monasteries, all receive their proper share of attention, as they have received in Mr. Moraes' volume. The value of such studies is well illustrated by the present work. Before Mr. Moraes' manual, the Kadambas were somewhat of a mere name. Now with the maps and other materials, they emerge as the link between the Gupta Empire and the South. The importance of the Kadamba kingdom and family, worthy enough of a marriage alliance with the Imperial Guptas, and the embassy of Kālidāsa from Chandragupta Vikramāditya to the Lord of Kuntala, become apparent when the whole picture is uncovered.

Mr. Moraes brings the history of Karnāṭaka down to the time where Father Heras takes it up directly and completes by his volumes on Vijayanagara.

The conclusion of the author on the origin of the *Kadamba-Kula* is one of those matters where dissent will be struck by others. He holds them to be Southern and Dravidian. But *Mayūraśarman*, the founder of the family, was avowedly a Brahmin, belonging to the *Mānavya Gotra* (Talagunda insc.). Our author regards *Kadamba* as 'a plant characteristic of the South' (p. 10). But really it is a common tree of the north, famous at Mathurā, on the bank of the Jumna, and in the United Provinces of Agra generally. It is not the *cinchona* of the Mysore planters. We have it at Patna in almost every second compound. There is no valid reason to disregard the records regarding their Brahmin and northern origin.

K. P. J.

The Mahābhārata. *For the First Time Critically Edited By Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1931. Ādiparvan : Fascicule 5.*

Dr. Sukthankar continues his difficult task with conscientious devotion, in pp. 401-640, bringing it down to the 149th chapter of the Ādiparvan. The variants, more than ever justify the necessity of such a reconstruction. Opinion may differ regarding the authenticity of the reconstituted text considering time and stratification, but the analysis of tradition and sifting of detail, will remain of lasting interest. In our review of Fascicules 1 and 2, in the J.B.O.R.S., March-June, 1929, we drew attention to the risk of a synthesis that confines itself to no single family of texts but takes note of all the families, and the Editor in the current fascicule, seems alive to the drawback: 'In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata MSS. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities, and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated' (pp. III). We entirely agree. In any case the present reconstituted text is as reliable as can be expected under the circumstances.

A scrutiny of the Mahābhārata MSS. material as divided into recensions and versions, reminds one of the weakest points in Pargiter's Prakrit original of the present Sanskrit text. Pargiter presumes that a concatenation of copies can finally be traced back to a single authentic (written) archetype. The conflation of codices of the Mahābhārata MSS. after all attempts at successive disentanglements, reaches back to—*no archetype*. A fluid oral tradition for the first time embodied in a late Sanskrit text, and the texts differ according to their age and locality. The same probably happened in the case of the Purāṇas. Pargiter would have been more convincing if he had tried to localise his so-called Prakrit original in space and time. He would be confronted by the same difficulties that lie in the path of Dr. Sukthankar. Perhaps more so. After all, in the interdependence

of 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa', the Purāṇa forms, to a large extent, the background of the Epos.

Dr. Sukthankar's work is proceeding steadily. All Sanskrit scholars will wish it success.

A. B.-Ś.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
held in the Society's office on August
2nd, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.

Dr. Harichand Sastri.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on March 27th, 1931.

2. The monthly accounts for the months March to June, 1931, were submitted by the Hon. Treasurer and passed.

3. The following new members were elected :—

Mr. Anant Kumar Bose, Student, Patna College.

Mr. Sahasrabudhe, Secretary, Saraswati Vidyaranya
Free Library, Hubli.

Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S., Subdivisional Officer,
Bihar.

Mr. R. C. Pandit, Manager, Bank of Bihar, Ltd., Patna.

4. Resolved that the Kern Institute, Leiden, be put on the Society's Exchange list.

5. Considered the Report of the Auditor on the Society's finances.

(i) Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 8-12-6 drawn by Pandit
Nagendranath Mahapatra in excess of his legitimate train fare in September, 1930.

(ii) Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 5-8-0 drawn by Pandit

Nagendranath Mahapatra to defray his expenses on September, 1930.

- (iii) Sanctioned the following amounts for conveyance hire to Mithila, Oriya and Office Pandits :—

			Rs.	A.	P.
Mithila Pandit on 24th, 25th, 28th and 30th April, 1930	..	..	3	0	0
Mithila Pandit on 1st, 7th and 8th Feb., 1931	2	4	0		
Oriya Pandit on 16th and 22nd March, 1931	1	8	0		
Office Pandit on 2nd June, 1930	..	1	8	0	

- (iv) Sanctioned the payment of Rs. 107-5 and Rs. 67-5 to Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Prof. Radhakrishnam respectively, for travelling allowance and for necessary expenses incurred in connection with their lectures.

- (v) Sanctioned the following amounts spent during the years 1929-30 and 1930-31 in excess of budget allotments :—

	1929-30.		Rs.	A.	P.
Paper for Journals	42	3	0
Stationery	1	6	9
	1930-31.				
Oriya Pandit	43	15	0
Telephone	35	14	0

- (vi) Resolved that in view of Resolution No. 6 of the proceedings of the meeting held on November 24th, 1929, the deficits in the stock of Journals disclosed in the tabular statement be written off.

Resolved further that the Librarian be requested to check the stock of Journals.

- (vii) Resolved that the sum of Rs. 22-10 said to be due from Prof. C. C. Singh on account of the cost of 100 extra reprints of his article be written off.

Resolved further that in future authors who desire reprints of their articles in excess of the 30 presentation copies allowed shall bear the whole expense for paper and printing charges, etc.

- (viii) Resolved that the Model Account Rules for the Society forwarded by Government be adopted.

6. Passed the Budget Estimate for 1932-33 and the Revised Budget for 1931-32.

7. Passed the Annual Accounts for 1930-31.

8. Received the report of the Hon. Secretary that he had sanctioned excess daily allowance to the Mithila Pandit for 2 days in February, 20 days in March and 12 days in June, 1931.

9. Nominated Mr. K. P. Jayaswal as delegate to attend the first Bombay Historical Congress to be held in December, 1931.

10. Read Government's letter of July 24th, 1931, on the subject of the sale of Sir George Grierson's Library.

Resolved that Sir George Grierson be asked the price of his set of 'The Asiatic Register.'

11. Read Government's Memorandum, dated July 30th, 1931, on the subject of the Census Report of 1931.

Resolved that Government be informed that it is essential that the Society possess the Census Report of 1931.

12. Resolved that Rs. 6,000 be withdrawn from the Current Account and put on fixed deposit for six months with the Allahabad Bank.

5th September, 1931.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary.

Actuals for the year 1930-31.

INCOME.	Rs.	A. P.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs.	A. P.
Sale of Mithila MSS.	..	22 8 0	Establishment ..	..	1,255 6 10
Government Grant	..	6,623 0 0	Mithila Pandit ..	..	1,104 7 8
Postage recovered	..	32 5 0	Oriya Pandit ..	..	813 15 0
Sale of Purnea Report:	Telephone ..	..	260 14 0
Government Grant	..	1,000 0 0	Paper ..	..	288 4 6
Sale	650 0 0	Printing charges ..	..	2,235 7 0
Subscription	..	2,148 11 7	Postage ..	..	265 4 0
Sale proceeds of Journal	..	1,319 15 0	Stationery ..	..	89 0 6
Miscellaneous	5,138 0 9*	Library ..	..	1,000 0 0
Opening Balance	..	5,994 9 1	Furniture ..	..	75 12 0
			Electrical charges ..	..	339 6 0
			Miscellaneous ..	..	6,561 12 0†
			Huthwa Fund ..	..	3,818 6 1
			Darbhangha Fund	..	.. ..
			Mayurbhanj Fund	..	3,261 1 2
			Closing Balance	..	..
				TOTAL	21,369 0 9
				..	1,560 0 8
				TOTAL	22,929 1 5

* This includes Rs. 5,000 0 0 Fixed deposit received back.
135 11 9 Interest on fixed deposit.
2 5 0 Miscellaneous.

TOTAL .. 5,138 0 9

† This includes Rs. 6,000 0 0 Sent to Bank for fixed deposit.

561 12 0 Miscellaneous, in which Rs. 25 is recoverable from All-India Oriental Conference.

TOTAL .. 6,561 12 0

The 2nd August, 1931.

SHAM BAHADUR,
Honorary Treasurer,
Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Principal Contents of Oriental Journals.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1931.

Bower, H. The *sar-gudhasht-i sayyadnā*, the 'Tale of the Three Schoolfellows', and the *wasaya* of the Nizām al-Mulk.

Thomas, F. W. Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turk-
estan.

Sayce, A. H. The Libraries of David and Solomon.

Indian Arts and Letters. Vol. IV, No. 2. Second Issue for 1930.

Gangoly, O. C. A Newly-Discovered Illustrated Indian Manu-
script.

Yetts, W. Perceval. Archæology in China.

Review of Philosophy and Religion, March, 1931.

Abbott, J. Totemism and the Marāṭhā 'Devak'.

Mahdi, Ali. Al'Farabi.

Archiv Orientalní. Vol. III, No. 1, April, 1931.

Stein, O. Neurre Forschungen zur altindischen Sozialges-
chichte, Rechts-und Staatsrechtsliteratur.

Poucha, P. Tocharica, II, Teil.

Vol. III, No. 2, August, 1931.

Winternitz, M. Ein Hymnus an Savitar.

Journal Asiatique. Juillet-Septembre, 1930.

Minorsky, M. V. Transcaucasica.

Genouillac, M. H. De. La campagne du printemps de 1929 à
Tello.

Octobre-Décembre, 1930.

Forrer, E. Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le
Proche-Orient Préhistorique.

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Neue Folge. Band 10—Heft 1-2, 1931.

Franz Graf Calice. Über Semitischägyptische Sprachverglei-
chung.

Otto, Walter. Eduard Meyer und sein Werk.

Heft 3.

Printz, Wilhelm. Gilgamesch und Alexander.

Bulletin de l'École Française D'Extrême-Orient. Jan.-Juin, 1930.

Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Documents d'Abhidharma.

Coédès, George. Les inscriptions malaises de Çrivijaya.

Acta Orientalia. Vol. X, Pars I, 1931.

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Le Monde Oriental. Vol. XXV, Fasc. 1-3, 1931.

Charpentier, Jarl. Indra.

Lewin, Bernhard. Zur sunnitischen Polemik gegen die Šr'a.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, April, 1931.

Geisler, Walter. Australien und Ozeanien.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, September, 1930.

Vol. III, No. 2.

Heras, Rev. H. A Newly Discovered Image of Buddha near Goa.

Banerji-Sastri, A. Remains of a Pre-Historic Civilisation in the Gangetic Valley.

A. B.-Ś.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥ or rī	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄ or rī	ब	b
ऌ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	◌ (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	◌ (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh		
ञ	ñ	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	) ( (Upadhmānīya)	ḥ
ठ	ṭh	◌ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ड	ḍ	Udātta	—
ढ	ḍh	Svarita	˘
ण	ṇ	Anudātta	˙

In Memoriam
BASANTA KUMAR MULICK.

Augustino Birrell has remarked that it is part of the melancholy of middle age that it dooms us to witness one by one the extinguishment of the lights that cast their radiance over youth. But the news of the sudden death of our late Vice-President on the 2nd of October last brought with it a specially poignant sense of loss, such as is afforded by the death of a contemporary or even younger man, for although SIR BASANTA KUMAR MULICK was approaching within sight of the span of three-score years and ten, he appeared to have surprised the secret of perpetual youth. He retained to the end, to a degree which is rare among men, the freshness of mind and the ready sympathy of matured youth; and all members of the Society lament the loss of an honoured friend and a charming companion. His capacity for arduous and prolonged work, retained to the end, was but the manifestation of his essential youthfulness; and it was this quality, with a perfect urbanity, and a great sincerity of friendship, which endeared him to all who knew him. Few men have been so widely loved, or so sincerely mourned by friends in all quarters of the earth.

BASANTA KUMAR MULICK was born on the 2nd of August, 1868. He was one of the sons of a prosperous Calcutta Barrister, Otool Churn Mullick, all of whom in due course distinguished themselves in the careers which they adopted. At the age of nine he was sent to England for his education; and he spent ten happy years there, at University College School and afterwards at King's College in Cambridge. He was indeed qualified by nature to gain the best possible advantages from such a training. In 1887 he entered the Indian Civil Service.

BASANTA KUMAR MULICK went through the ordinary course, serving in various districts of Bengal, playing polo when he could, pigsticking when he could, losing his whole stud from anthrax on one occasion in Chittagong, and always doing his work conscientiously and efficiently. In 1913 he was appointed to officiate as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. When these provinces were separated from Bengal, he came to Bihar as Legal Remembrancer; when the Patna High Court was founded he necessarily entered it as one of the original judges, and he continued to work as a Puisne Judge until 1928. After he left the High Court he acted for a short time as a Member of Council; and in the following year he was appointed to be a member of the Secretary of State's Council. He had been employed from time to time, when he happened to be in Europe on leave on work of a diplomatic nature with the League of Nations at Geneva, for which he was specially qualified by his natural gifts. In 1927 when we lost V. H. Jackson, he became our Vice-President; and his active interest in the Society continued to the end.

I was myself specially honoured with his friendship; and I worked in association with him for a long time. From this intimate association I can say (and no man could have a better epitaph) that the point of character which specially distinguished him was that, urbane and tolerant as Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick ordinarily was, the one thing which turned him into a man who was neither urbane nor tolerant was any act or any proposal savouring of meanness. We offer our respectful sympathy to Lady Mullick in her bereavement and ourselves mourn the loss of an honoured and beloved friend.

J. F. W. J.



VOL. XVII

PARTS II-III

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(MIMAMSA-SASTRA-SARVASVA)
H-day 22ca.

Jan-
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